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Nato: US levels a few pointed questions

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Chancellor Kohl was asked at the Washington Press Club whether the Bundeswehr would take part in military moves to keep oil routes in the Persian Gulf open.

No, he said, giving a straightforward and objective explanation. Nato's brief did not extend to the Persian Gulf.

It was an answer that many Americans would not like. Most politically interested Americans and most US Congressmen would regard the question itself as a test of loyalty to the pact.

From one day to the next they hear news from Europe that they don't understand.

In Britain the Labour Party has called for unilateral nuclear disarmament. In Denmark the Parliament has voted against Nato missile deployment.

This is not the sort of behaviour the Americans expect from allies they had hoped to be able to go through thick and thin with, allies who did everything in common.

The question Chancellor Kohl was asked would have been levelled, at the same time and place, at Prime Minister Nakasone of Japan.

He too would have replied in the negative, basing his argument on legal grounds and failing to register much approval.

The Chancellor brought back from Washington the message that the US government was satisfied with Nato as it had shaped up since the beginning of missile deployment.

In other words, you Europeans needn't expect us Americans to create any difficulties. We stick to our alliance commitments.

But isn't a threat imminent in this very assurance? Are the Americans not warning us not to disappoint them, as otherwise the Western protecting power might turn its back on Nato?

Do Dr. Kissinger's reform proposals for Nato in which he holds forth the threat of a partial withdrawal of US forces from Europe reflect what the American administration really thinks?

Or is what Washington thinks more accurately reflected by Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger, who in a speech has conjured visions of America turning toward Asia?

The answer to both questions is clearly no. America's commitment to Nato is not being made subject to conditions of any kind.

US government officials and Congressmen who matter in Washington know well that visions of a Nato in which the allies make their way through history battling in unison like the Three Musketeers are merely wishful thinking.

But they have to deal with views of this kind that are held by others. Coverage of world affairs in the United States has given the American public a misleading impression.

They have been led to believe that US forces are sent to the front wherever the action is, whereas the Europeans and Japanese have skilfully succeeded in keeping their hands clean and concentrating on the more lucrative pursuit of doing business at a profit.

Americans other than administration officials give Europe no credit for going ahead with missile deployment. That, they feel, is a matter of course.

Americans have seen on TV that US servicemen have been killed in action in Lebanon. So have French troops, of course, but few people on the US eastern seaboard are aware of the fact, and fewer still further west.

Instead, Americans are told that US forces may have to fight to keep shipping lanes open that mainly supply oil to Europe and Japan.

Reports that the United States is annoyed with its allies again and even threatening the possible need for consequences invariably prompt political unrest in Europe, certainly in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In reality the United States is doing more for Nato than virtually any European member of the pact. Nato is not a political donation by the people of the USA to little Europe; it is the copper-bottomed base of America's position as a world power.

The North Atlantic pact gives the United States both protection and profile. A rift in Nato would be the most crushing defeat America could sustain as a superpower.

Worries that America might transfer its attention from Europe to Asia are totaly unfounded. If Nato were to break up, America would lose virtually all its friends.

If European politicians could only see their way to emphasising Europe's contribution toward Nato a little more, they would above all make life easier for what is friendly government in Washington.

Winfried Münster
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 March 1984)

IN THIS ISSUE

Space station offer

The US has decided to go ahead and develop a manned space platform. The head of Nasa, James Beggs, has been touring Europe offering other countries a chance to take part in the project. He is pictured here (left) in Bonn with German Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (see page 9). (Photo: dpa)

Helmut Schmidt welcomes Kissinger idea



Two leading German Social Democrats have responded surprisingly favourably to proposals by Henry Kissinger for changes in Western security arrangements.

Kissinger, former American Secretary of State, suggests that the West should try and get closer to an East-West balance in conventional arms in central Europe and that a European should become Nato commander-in-chief in Europe.

The Bonn government rejects the proposals out of hand. But Social Democrats Egon Bahr and Helmut Schmidt both welcome them.

The main points of agreement are that European Nato countries are not doing enough to build up conventional defence; and that too much reliance is being placed on American nuclear weapons.

Herr Bahr has given his views an airing in *Vorwärts* and Herr Schmidt in *Die Zeit*.

One wonders why they are so frank about Nato weaknesses in Europe. Only 18 months ago, Schmidt was Chancellor and therefore in a position to exercise some influence. He was then not as critical as he is now.

Helmut Kohl and Helmut Schmidt clearly assess Nato and relations between Western Europe and the United States entirely differently.

Herr Kohl stresses the leadership of the United States in its own pact much more strongly than Herr Schmidt does.

Herr Schmidt may not go so far as, for instance, Herr Bahr in envisaging a European general in charge of Nato's European command structure.

Herr Kohl entirely rules out any such idea, whereas Herr Schmidt says the possibility of a partial withdrawal of US forces from Europe would not necessarily be a disaster.

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Claus-... (Rheinische ...

(...ddeutsche Zeitung, 9 March 1984)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Genscher bid to break the ice in Turkey

Bonn would like a democratic Turkey to take up unchallenged its place in Europe.

It expects Turkey to move towards this aim.

That was revealed in the Bonn government's second report to the Bundestag on Turkey.

Foreign Minister Genscher visited Ankara for political talks three weeks before the Turkish local government elections.

The timing of his visit was intended to demonstrate confidence in the desire for democratisation of the new civilian government in Ankara.

It was also aimed at illustrating an outstretched hand policy toward Turkey as a fellow-member of Nato and an associate member of the European Community.

In Bonn Herr Genscher's visit to Ankara was expected to break the ice, with Germany's attitude toward Turkey sounding a clear signal intended to be understood by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament.

The Bonn government willingly admits to being the self-appointed advocate of Turkey's cause in the West.

It bears in mind that Turkey as a factor for stability on Nato's south-eastern flank has assumed increasing importance of late in view of trends in the Near and Middle East.

Bonn claims to be justified in voicing an opinion on the situation and developments in Turkey by virtue of being a fellow-member of Nato and the Council of Europe.

But the specific importance of German-Turkish relations is due mainly to the fact that 1.6 million Turkish citizens live in Germany.

They are numerically the largest group of foreigners in Germany.

An agreement on freedom of movement between the European Community and Turkey can only be reached in close cooperation with the Ankara government.

The difficulties arising from the fact that by the terms of association Turkish workers will be freely entitled to live and work in EEC countries from December 1986 were a key feature of talks between Bonn and Ankara in 1982.

They are sure to have dominated this year's talks between Herr Genscher and his Turkish counterpart, Mr Halefoglu, who was ambassador in Bonn for 10 years.

In January they held talks in Stockholm in which Herr Genscher pointed out that the Bundestag continued to expect Turkey to restore democratic conditions, fully uphold human rights and observe constitutional principles in criminal court procedure.

Before he flew to Ankara Bonn noted that although progress had been made toward the restoration of democracy "much remained to be done" on human rights and constitutional principles. Bonn continues to waggle an admonitory finger in Ankara's direction, partly on account of the view held by the Opposition in Germany and partly on account of sentiment in Nato capitals.

Reminders of Turkey's promise to restore democracy are linked with reminders of the pledge given by the Turkish government to avoid detrimental effects of the provisions on freedom of movement.

Herr Genscher will have carefully weighed and balanced the German interest in adjusting provisions on freedom of movement to economic circumstances in the Federal Republic and the Bundestag's hopes of progress toward democracy.

He did not travel to Ankara empty-handed. he was able to give an assurance on Bonn's behalf that economic and military aid to Turkey are to be continued.

In view of budget options Bonn is working on the assumption that aid will be at the same level as last year: economic aid totalling DM130m and Nato defence aid totalling a further DM130m for an 18-month period.

Economic relations between the two countries have reached a new stage, or so Bonn feels. German companies are showing growing interest in cooperation with Turkey.

Bilateral trade has increased remarkably over the past two years. In 1982 it

Frankfurter Allgemeine

totalled $1.7bn, and in its report on Turkey the Bonn government recalled the terms of aid.

Development cooperation was aimed at promoting projects designed to help the Turkish people, while defence aid was a specific expression of solidarity and German readiness to share burdens within Nato.

The aim of Bonn's policy toward Turkey remains, as defined in the December 1982 first report on the country, to ensure basic rights and freedom and the protection of human rights in Turkey.

It was also to restore democracy and maintain Turkish economic and social stability.

Angela Nacken

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 March 1984)

Trussed up in a let-down fishing net

RHEINISCHE POST

Relations between France and Spain are not good. France is a founder-member of the EEC and Spain wants to become a member.

The Spaniards have, with every reason, been complaining about French farmers' protests against exports of Spanish farm produce.

A French patrol boat has now fired on two Spanish trawlers caught with their nets down in EEC waters that are still out of bounds to them.

The skirmish at sea was inevitably followed by diplomatic skirmishes, leaving the Common Market hit by a strike of customs officials, border blockades and a pint-sized fish war.

All this is happening in a year in which EEC citizens, who will include the Spaniards within the foreseeable future, are due to cast their votes in elections for the European Parliament.

What with the butter mountains and lakes of wine and milk, the Community's chronic shortage of cash and imminent collapse, there are few grounds for satisfaction with the EEC's condition.

Yet, it's all happened before, both on land and at sea. In 1975-76 Britain and Iceland, both members of Nato, waged the cod war.

In 1982-83 Britain and Denmark, both committed members of the European Community, failed to see eye to eye on herring fishery.

All such clashes have been resolved in the past. So Europe is still a long way from over and done with.

Claus-Dietrich Möhrke

(Rheinische Post, 9 March 1984)

Nothing new in Warsaw Pact proposal

Mannheimer MORGEN

The Warsaw Pact proposal for a freeze on arms spending in East and West is nothing new. It was effectively aimed at Western public opinion back in the 1970s.

There isn't even anything new about the offer of negotiations between the blocs to reach agreement first on not increasing, then on reducing arms expenditure.

It formed part of the Warsaw Pact's Prague Declaration early last year. What is interesting is that it has been repeated so soon after the start of missile deployment by Nato.

It can and ought to be taken by the West as a sign of Soviet readiness to negotiate.

The aim of curbing arms expenditure to make funds available for social progress and the Third World is one that can only be endorsed in the West.

But, like all fine-sounding East Bloc proposals, the road to this good intention is where problems arise. The issues for negotiation must first be made comparable and verifiable, for instance.

The West has backed since 1980 a proposal by the neutral countries to submit details of arms spending to the UN: Yet the Warsaw Pact refuses to take the option up even though it would be an internationally agreed, standardised system of notification.

Even if the East Bloc were in future to be prepared to submit details, the problem of verification would remain.

The principles of equality and equal security presuppose more than the East has so far been prepared to deliver. A system that amounted to a freeze on the basis of Eastern superiority would not, from the West's point of view, be a responsible way of safeguarding the peace.

Yet the Eastern proposal must still be taken seriously as a sign of readiness to negotiate.

Rudi Kilgus

(Mannheimer Morgen, 7 March 1984)

Charge in Gulf war: chemical weapons

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Iraq has been accused of using chemical weapons in the Gulf war against Iran. Chemical weapons are banned by international agreement.

Baghdad strongly denies the accusations. However, troops which Iran says have been wounded by chemicals have been transferred to hospitals in Vienna, where new evidence has come to light.

Some of the soldiers have died. Doctors have been saying nothing about the cause of death because they have so far not found out what the toxin is.

Iran has invited representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to Tehran to see victims.

They too have been cautious in their comments, as befits their status. But they have made it clear they are working on the assumption that proscribed weapons are in use.

But there are increasing signs that Iraq has been using arms that are rightly viewed by the international community as particularly appalling and banned accordingly.

Yet doubts remain. First, these weapons do not yet seem to have been used to any great extent. Otherwise the Tehran authorities would have long since raised Cain.

Iran is clearly anxious to turn world opinion against Iraq now its latest offensive has failed to have the desired effect.

From his Paris exile Ayatollah Khomeini was well able, in the Shah's day, to moralise. Nowadays it sounds more like presumption.

Iran, after all, is the country that has sent children and teenagers in waves through the minefields and in front of Iraqi machine-gun emplacements to break through enemy lines.

Iran is the country that has refused the Red Cross permission to visit Iraqi prisoners-of-war, whereas Iraq has allowed the Red Cross to inspect its Iranian PoWs.

Unlike Iran, Iraq has not been accused of serious shortcomings in its treatment of prisoners.

It is an obvious manoeuvre on Iran's part, after having rejected each and every offer of meditation in the Gulf War, to want to make capital out of the Red Cross's work.

In a word, any use of chemical weapons must be condemned unconditionally. But it is Iran that has so far stymied all bids to end the war.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 March 1984)

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HOME AFFAIRS

A rough ride for Chancellor Kohl, but his public appeal is still high

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Never since Konrad Adenauer has a Chancellor been treated with so much venom by certain Hamburg illustrated magazines as has Helmut Kohl.

The accusations are the same week after week: ineptitude, insensitivity, lack of vision, causing a loss of national prestige, eroding the nation's role as mediator in world politics and presiding over economic and social decline.

Then there is the stunned admission that the alleged ineptitude meets with broad popular approval.

Nobody is perfect. But the constant criticism levelled at Kohl goes beyond the tolerable.

Kohl has had to lower his sights on many issues. He has come to realise that the spiritual leadership he promised is a tedious business in day-to-day politics and amounts to little more than charting a course.

For the rest, he had had to content himself with Karl Popper's piecemeal engineering as the most effective and most lacklustre method of democratic leadership.

Even so, Kohl is highly regarded by the public, and there are good reasons for this. He was instrumental in the conservatives winning the March 1983 election and receiving a new mandate.

It was he who paved the way for the FDP to enter its new alliance with the conservatives and it was also he who kept CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss at bay.



Chancellor Kohl (right) with Foreign Minister Genscher . . . content with lowered sights (Photo: Lothar Kucharz)

He neither destroyed relations with the East — which his opponents saw as inevitable — nor was he intimidated by allegations that the deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles would spell the end of any dialogue and cooperation with Moscow and could even mean war. The opposite is true.

Kohl has succeeded in mending our frayed relations with the USA. Together with Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg he ushered in a consolidation of the budget by introducing austerity measures and cutting social benefits — all painful decisions.

He has overcome the major problems of the period from 1981 to 1983 in such sectors as security, state finances and fear of the future. And opinion surveys give him credit for it.

The mood is optimistic once again and the economy is on the mend.

Fifty-four per cent of the population are optimistic about this year's development, and only 15 per cent are worried. The figures in 1982 were 34 and 32 per cent respectively.

Willy Brandt had good reason to warn against underestimating Helmut Kohl. The Opposition is hard pressed by him. In SPD parliamentary leader Hans-Jochen Vogel — a man more to the liking of certain Hamburg journalists — has little prestige even among his own followers.

But Kohl's successes also have their negative side. This includes the crisis over two cabinet ministers, the European policy problems (for which Bonn does not carry the main responsibility) and a somewhat too eager *Ostpolitik* with its constant fear that the various bargaining tables for some time.

It also includes the constant urging of the American president to meet the new Soviet leader.

In terms of domestic policy, it is above all the FDP that benefits from such gestures. But the Chancellor must beware of the disenchantment in the other wing of his coalition, the CSU.

Naturally, the CSU also wants the coalition to succeed and is prepared to make sacrifices to this end.

The growing disenchantment is largely because the Chancellor frequently sides with the FDP in political disputes.

But this has not yet seriously damaged the coalition, even though the manner in which FDP party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher is giving free rein to Gerhart Baum and Uwe Hirsch in domestic affairs is starting to annoy the CSU group in Bonn.

If any one of them publicly acted as the FDP men do there would be an outcry, they say.

Fritz Ullrich Fack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1984)

Beer and skittles and the Ash Wednesday champ

Lübecker Nachrichten

This year's political Ash Wednesday in Bavaria was the most memorable in many years.

All major and many of the minor parties sent their top people to take part in the rhetoric tug-of-war, seizing the opportunity to demonstrate that politics and humour can go hand-in-hand — even in Germany.

But it is a very German type of humour that needs plenty of beer to get off the ground, and in this country beer promotes sombre rather than carefree thought.

Few German politicians have mastered the art of shedding this beerhall sombreness. One of them is CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss who does it with such bravado as to give the impression that the whole institution of a political Ash Wednesday has been maintained for his personal use.

What other politician could give a one-man show at Passau's Niebelungen Hall without boring his audience of 8,000?

Naturally, it would be ill advised to weigh every word said in these circumstances.

FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher knew from the very beginning that he would be Strauss's target — even more so than the Social Democrats.

This is why the Foreign Minister flew straight from his talks in Ankara to the godforsaken town of Bayerbach, the place where the FDP achieved its best results in the last state election.

But he was no match for Strauss, a sparetime pilot, who used aviation language to spell the name of the junior coalition partner: Foxtrot, Delta, Papa.

Just being on the spot is clearly not enough.

SPD Parliamentary leader Hans-Jochen Vogel came up with a few earthy slogans at his rally in a Landshut inn; but this rally with its attendance of a few hundred was more of a sideshow. The same applied to the gatherings of the fringe parties.

Everybody hurled accusations at everybody else. There was no sign of self-criticism, which would have been in keeping with Ash Wednesday. And only those who consider the beam in their own eyes can summon a sense of humour.

Here, too, Franz Josef Strauss is the exception. Even if he is no longer "the greatest," he remains the Ash Wednesday champ.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 8 March 1984)

Apel likely to be SPD's choice in Berlin

Former Defence Minister Hans Apel is likely to be the Social Democrats' candidate for Governing Mayor in the West Berlin elections next year. A member of the Berlin assembly, Alexander Longolius, is also seeking nomination but Apel is likely to be chosen. Berlin is held by the CDU. The SPD has been forced to act quickly following the unexpected resignation of the former top runner, Harry Ristock, who wants to devote more time to his job with a construction company.

There are two sides to Harry Ristock's resignation as the SPD's top runner in next year's Berlin election.

On the one hand, the party will have to make a decision, with all the risks this means, barely a year before the election.

On the other hand, the party has a chance to find a new challenger for mayor long after the Christian Democrats have committed themselves.

Those who doubted the wisdom of nominating Ristock — many influential Social Democrats both in Berlin and outside did — will see the advantages as outstripping the risks.

But it takes a fair bit of optimism to believe that the SPD will manage to turn the Ristock dilemma into a brilliant new beginning.

Experience with previous infighting over candidates shows that this drains and politically neutralises party factions.

But the fact that the party decided not to plunge into a decision but wait until



Harry Ristock . . . back to commerce (Photo: Poly-Press)

its special congress towards the end of March opens up some possibilities.

In view of its shortage of suitable candidates, Berlin's SPD will probably have to draft somebody from outside, perhaps Hans Apel, Hans Matthöfer or Heinz Westphal.

The fact that there is considerable opposition to such "imports" does not facilitate the decision because of the risk that any outside candidate would be defeated.

But this could just as easily happen to a Berliner.

It is now up to the party leaders in Bonn to choose between two evils and turn their choice into a success.

SPD headquarters is naturally interested in not spoiling its chances in next year's North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland elections with a defeat in Berlin.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 March 1984)

■ GERMANY

A delicate political balancing act

General-Anzeiger

More than 900 East German citizens arrived in Bavaria in January and February.

The trend continues in what must be the unlikeliest campaign by the East Berlin authorities since the Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin was signed in 1972.

The officially sanctioned exodus of East Germans does not seem to have been interrupted or taken out of its stride by either Nato missile deployment or the inevitable media coverage of more spectacular asylum bids.

GDR citizens who have sought asylum in Western embassies in East Berlin and Prague would normally have prompted the East German authorities to batten down the hatches.

Only a few months ago any suggestion that the GDR might let a trickle of its citizens resettle in the West would have been dismissed as wishful thinking.

Government or Opposition politicians in Bonn who feel they are of any importance seem to be making one fact-finding tour of the GDR after another.

GDR leader Erich Honecker is having difficulty in accomodating West German visitors in his appointment book.

A record number of leading West Germans were in Leipzig for the spring fair. They included, for the first time ever, the Governing Mayor of Berlin.

Wolfgang Mischnick has been to East Berlin for talks with Herr Honecker. Mischnick, parliamentary party leader of the Free Democrats, Chancellor Kohl's junior partners in Bonn, is himself a political refugee from early post-war East Germany.

He as a West German politician born in Saxony, GDR, conferred with an East German leader who was born in the Saar. He had with him a message from the Chancellor on the need for a continued policy of intra-German coexistence.

Herr Mischnick is a level-headed, reliable advocate of a careful balance of interests between the two German states. He knows better than many another West German politician who has only just discovered what he imagines to be the political capital to be made out of Deutschlandpolitik how far to go. There are limits to the extent one can progress in what are still critical areas and maybe even taboo. There are also limits to what the GDR leaders can be expected to accept by way of coexistence on either side of the intra-German border.





FDP leader in the Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick (left) in East Berlin this month with the East Berlin leader, Erich Honecker. (Photo: dpa)

That, and nothing less, is what is at stake in the present phase of surprise movement in humanitarian East-West relations in Germany, an issue that has always been sensitive to publicity.

Economic interests are also at stake, especially as far as the GDR is concerned. It may also be a matter of East Berlin getting rid of tiresome domestic opposition.

But Herr Honecker must get his sums right. News of exit permits being granted spreads like wildfire, as do reports of people escaping via German and foreign diplomatic missions.

In the West the number of people in the GDR who would dearly like to start a new life in West Germany may be overestimated. But reports of this kind definitely spread in next to no time.

Bonn politicians who confer with the East German leader need not worry how Herr Honecker manages to come to terms with the latest state of affairs.

But there is no reason why they shouldn't bear in mind the sole terms on which the GDR possibly might make an arrangement with the West.

And there would then be no reason for accusing Herr Mischnick, or the Opposition leader Herr Vogel, or the Chancellor himself of being in cahoots with the East Germans.

The GDR is not a patient who cannot be expected to withstand the effort of conducting balanced political business.

But both sides would do well to consider how they can keep their coexistence options open, above all without running the risk of exposure to the glare of publicity.

The GDR leaders naturally reach their decisions on Westpolitik in the strategic context of overriding objectives, such as the citizenship issue.

Herr Honecker knows that the Federal Republic in principle has no room whatever in which to manoeuvre on that issue.

But he might, like a number of his West German interlocutors, be tempted to recall yesterday's utopias that are today's reality in relations between the two German states.

A number of Social Democrats in particular seem to feel less reluctant to cross the threshold and adopt a more pragmatic approach to the problem of two citizenships in Germany.

Yet the true limits to coexistence are self-evident to us all. Testing them calls for patience, skill and, to some extent, consideration for the special circumstances with which the other side has to live.

Friedhelm Kemna

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 6 March 1984)

Asylum bid that goes close to the bone

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Bonn would have been in a quandary if East Berlin had refused point blank to allow the Berg family to leave for the West.

They were the relatives of GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph who sought refuge in the West German embassy in Prague and applied for asylum in the Federal Republic.

The only difference between Frau Berg and any other would-be refugee from the GDR is, of course, that the Prime Minister is her uncle.

But that alone is naturally enough to make her case little short of an affair of state. Bonn would have had little choice but to take further action if East Berlin had failed to let her and her family leave.

They left Prague and drove back to the GDR after having been given assurances that they would be allowed to migrate to the West.

The Bonn government deserves credit for having resisted the temptation to dramatise this particular episode, which in reality is merely one refugee tale among many.

But the East Berlin government merits its share of the praise too. It must have found it particularly hard to give in.

It was an affair that particularly lent itself to the interpretation that the GDR regime is on its last legs.

If the attitudes adopted in Bonn and East Berlin are taken jointly into consideration, it would seem no exaggeration to suggest that good will on both sides was amazingly far-reaching.

That is not to say, sadly, that problems will continue to be solved reasonably. The Berg family is not on its own in wanting to see the back of the GDR.

Having generated so much publicity the case is sure to prompt more people to try and follow suit than previous cases have done.

The result could well be that East Berlin's obvious readiness to take a generous attitude on exit permit applications will reach danger level.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 March 1984)

A monotonous existence in a society with little scope

Dissatisfaction is widespread in East Germany. Especially among the young.

Shortages are not the reason. The usual failings of the system are.

Ideological pressure may have been eased since Erich Honecker took over in 1971, but the cautious liberalisation of public life that seemed to be imminent has ground to a halt.

As for consumerism, it couldn't be kept up because of international economic trends. The standard of living is marking time, increasing negligibly if at all.

A day in the life of the GDR seems monotonous and depressing for many.

Young people in particular, including sons and daughters of the so-called intelligentsia, are growing more and more keenly aware of the lack of career prospects.

There are highly qualified people who will never stand a chance of getting a job in keeping with their abilities.

Last but not least, there is the feeling of being kept in custody and unable to travel.

Tourist traffic has even been restricted to the east. GDR people can no longer travel to Poland.

And when they travel to Bulgaria or Czechoslovakia they are annoyed at being treated as second-class citizens because they have no hard currency.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Herr Honecker has an extensive intelligence network at his disposal, so he cannot be unaware of the trend.

He has sought to give the GDR a more German aspect, with a stronger emphasis on tradition. German history is mentioned whenever possible.

Luther was rehabilitated last year; now it is Bismarck's turn. Buildings that stood for all that was Saxon or Prussian, and corresponding museum inventories, are being refurbished.

Issuing an unusually large number of exit permits is also intended to serve as a safety valve and promote peace and quiet.

People who clearly are not going to be persuaded to support socialism are being allowed to leave. With the first signs of unemployment beginning to show, the GDR can afford to be rid of them.

So much for the safety valve. Will it be enough to boost what people in general feel? Maybe not. There are already reports that people are increasingly worried the border will be closed entirely once the wave of exit permits is over.

It is still far from clear on what basis permission to leave the GDR is granted. The authorities evidently want to remain unpredictable.

But a flexible attitude is taken toward the independent peace groups too. Some, such as Women for Peace Bärbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe, were released from custody.

Others were arrested and taken to court. At times observers feel the sentences are merely intended to make supporters of the peace groups keen to quit.

This varied approach is clearly the handiwork of Herr Honecker, who has repeatedly prevailed over advocates of a harder line in the politbureau.

The hawks include Paul Verner, who is said to be in poor health, and, to some extent, Hermann Axen. Honecker's hand has been strengthened by the appointment of former Free German

Continued on page 5

■ PERSPECTIVE

Security and the Western European Union

On 17 March 1948 a treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self defence was signed in Brussels by Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. This Brussels Treaty was extended and, on 6 May, 1955, the Western European Union was formally inaugurated. Among the members was the Federal Republic of Germany.

Security issues have played a part in European deliberations over the past few months that ought not to be underestimated.

Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand conferred twice in February on closer Franco-German cooperation in this sector.

Prime Minister Craxi of Italy on a visit to Bonn referred to the Western European Union as a suitable forum for more intensive debate on defence and security issues.

Signor Craxi also had certain misgivings about special relations between France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Defence Minister Charles Hernu of France appealed to the WEU Assembly in December for the organisation to be upgraded.

Alois Mertes, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, has now said Germany too would be prepared to reactivate the WEU as a forum for defence cooperation.

This reawakening of interest in the WEU comes as something of a surprise. It has led a wallflower existence since Nato became the forum for debate on defence issues and the European Community assumed responsibility for other forms of cooperation.

The WEU was set up in 1954 in succession to the Brussels pact, or Western Union, concluded in 1948 by Britain, France and the Benelux countries should there ever be a recurrence of policies of aggression by Germany.

Once the Allies had decided to permit the rearmament of West Germany the Federal Republic and Italy were included in what then became the Western European Union.

Both were subjected by the treaty terms to restrictions on their arms production and exports; the Federal Republic undertook not to manufacture atomic, biological or chemical weapons.

Some of these restrictions have since been lifted. In 1980, for instance, the tonnage limit to submarines and warships built in German yards was waived.

Last December the WEU's parliamentary assembly proposed a motion for the waiving of WEU treaty provisions mainly regarding the manufacture of long-range bombers and missiles.

This recommendation must be approved by a two-thirds majority in the WEU Council of Ministers before it comes into force.

It is of little practical significance as Bonn has no plans to manufacture weapons in these categories.

Yet the decision would have symbolic significance as the abolition of one of the last treaty terms to discriminate against the Federal Republic.

Herr Mertes has reiterated this viewpoint, saying that Bonn does not deserve the distrust expressed in the restrictions incorporated in the WEU Treaty.

The WEU assumed greater importance when France withdrew from the military organisation of Nato in 1967.

In then became both a bracket that continued to link France with Nato and a forum at which the Europeans could discuss defence and arms issues among themselves.

Nothing much has emerged from the debates, but that has largely been because France since de Gaulle's days has sought to upgrade the WEU to a kind of competitor of Nato's.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Bonn has taken care not to fall in with any such plans. It doesn't want a wedge to be driven into the North Atlantic pact and would prefer to keep ties with Washington free from tension.

What, then, is there to account for the resurgence of interest in the WEU when the EEC countries in a solemn declaration at Stuttgart agreed on European Political Cooperation as the framework for security policy coordination?

Within the EPC framework there are handicaps to a further-reaching discussion on "European defence," whatever that may be taken to mean.

Ireland, for instance, is a European Community country but is non-aligned and wants to stay that way. Greece, although it is a Nato country, pursues a foreign policy that is very much of its own making.

Security policy coordination as part of EPC is unacceptable for Athens if it clashes with the foreign policy line pursued by Prime Minister Papandreou's Pasok government.

Denmark's political position seriously limits the security policy leeway of the Danish government, as is shown by the rejection of Nato missile deployment by the Danish Parliament.

Intensified bilateral ties, such as closer cooperation between Paris and Bonn, promptly give rise to fears on the part of other EEC countries that a Franco-German directorate is in the making.

So the idea of waking WEU, a kind of Sleeping Beauty, is a promising one, especially as the WEU treaty provides a suitable groundwork.

Article 5 of the treaty provides for mutual assistance in the event of an attack on one or more member-countries.

It also already has a modicum of infracstructure: a Council of Ministers, a parliamentary assembly and a secretariat.

The prospects of the WEU being upgraded seem better today than they have been for years.

The French leader's orientation is more Atlantic than that of his predecessors, certainly where security is concerned.

An upgrading of the WEU would be unlikely to give rise to mistrust in Washington today to the extent that past French bids did in their time.

Europeans have grown increasingly convinced of late that greater efforts must be undertaken and cooperation agreed in European defence to make Nato's second pillar more supportive.

This realisation has partly been prompted by uncertainty in US foreign policy and a number of unfortunate comments in Washington.

Europeans may well be further reinforced in this view by latent anti-European sentiment in the United States as currently evidenced by Henry Kissinger's proposal to reduce US troop strength on this side of the Atlantic.

Herr Mertes has now announced that Foreign Minister Genscher will be taking part in the next meeting of the WEU Council of Ministers, which is to be held on 24 May.

Herr Genscher will then take over as president of the WEU for a six-month term.

In October a meeting will be held in Rome where, as matters stand, both Foreign and Defence Ministers are to attend.

By then at the latest we will know whether fresh life really is to be breathed into the Western European Union.

Günther Nonnenmacher

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 February 1984)

The Western European Union (extension of the Brussels Treaty)

Britain
Belgium
Fed Rep Ger
Holland
Lux
France
Italy
Member nations
Secretary – General (London)
Council of Ministers
Head: Secret.-Gen.
Standing council
For. Min. the 7 WEU nations
Line to: Nato
EEC Council of Ministers
Standing armaments committee (Paris)
Agency for the control of armaments (Paris)
Recommendations
89 members
Standing
Committees
Assembly
ZAHLENBILDER

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Youth leader Egon Krenz to the politbureau.

At the top he may succeed in building a bridge between the generations. Among the general public it has grown a more daunting task, with a gap having occurred in many families.

There are tales of youngsters who reproachfully ask their parents why they were born under socialism. Why, they ask, did you not leave the GDR when it was still no trouble? *Liselotte Müller*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 March 1984)

Warning about 'reunification delusions'

DIE WELT

Erlangen historian Michael Stürmer, one of Chancellor Kohl's advisers, says the German Question is a fundamental European issue.

He was addressing a gathering held by the German Atlantic Society in the Berlin Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Professor Stürmer feels the peace movement, the Nato missile deployment dispute and the attitude of the SPD toward the Atlantic allaince have given rise to alarm in the West.

What worries people is who is going to hold sway in Central Europe.

His topic was "Is the German Question Back?" He made it clear that Western fears of German neutralism reflect anxiety about the direction in which Germany is heading.

This anxiety, especially in relation to the Social Democrats' attitude toward Nato, formed the basis of Henry Kissinger's latest views on reshaping the Atlantic alliance.

The Federal Republic of Germany, he said, would thus need to redefine its identity in a European context and in the Atlantic pact.

In order to clarify its national identity it would also need to clearly state where it stood on reunification: what it meant and what it didn't mean.

The decline of detente policy ushered by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles, developments in Poland and military changes in Lebanon and elsewhere has made one point clear.

It is that Europe cannot be defended without the Federal Republic of Germany. But an independent European security system can be no substitute, merely an addition to the Atlantic alliance.

So Professor Stürmer feels retention of the pact and reaffirmation of loyalty to it continue to be indispensable for the Federal Republic.

Referring to European problems arising from the German Question, he said the Federal Republic would either be free and Western or it would not exist at all.

It was childish to believe anything else. He warned against dangerous illusions that a policy of reunification might be accepted by Bonn's Western allies outside a European framework.

The German Question had always been a matter of who Europe was to belong to, so the Germans could not decide the issue on their own.

For the same reason Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik could only be successful to the extent to which it was supported by the West.

"Bonn can never weigh in in the East at a heavier weight than it has in the West," he said.

The development of intra-German ties was thus not the nucleus of the German problem. Professor Stürmer advocated a pragmatic approach but also issued a reminder.

It was that when it came to a German identity there was still a fundamental, irrevocable antagonism to the Soviet Union. *Axel Schützsack*

(Die Welt, 6 March 1984)

■ THE ECONOMY

A better year for craftsmen and tradesmen: business picks up

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Germany's tradesman and craftsmen had a better year last year. Turnover was up five per cent (2.5 per cent in real terms), which was better than overall national growth.

Construction and related trades started hiring heavily and overall the workforce, cut in 1982, returned to its previous level. There was a large increase in apprenticeships.

The 42 chambers of trades recorded 247,276 new apprenticeship contracts, up 6.3 per cent against the 232,548 the previous year.

It even outstripped the record year of 1980 by 4,000.

This means that 550,000 boys and 150,000 girls are now being trained in a craft. This makes Germany's trades the nation's largest training system.

But the recovery by most of the 500,000 craft firms is not yet sufficient to be called an upturn.

There are still too many differences between the 125 recognised trades, along with regional differences.

Though most firms show an increase in orders and are working nearer to capacity, business was not entirely satisfactory because stiff competition kept profits down.

Even so, after declining investments the previous year, the second half of 1983 saw a rise in investment, much in housing.

Prompted by declining inflation and interest rates and optimism as to profits, crafts firms and consumers began catching up with postponed purchases of durable consumer and capital goods.

Much of the five per cent nominal turnover rise in 1983 went to the construction industry — mainly for private housing.

The construction industry, which accounts for almost 40 per cent of the overall turnover in the trades, has been considerably favoured by special conditions such as housing promotion measures.

Developments in this sector will largely depend on political decisions.

All economic indicators point to a continued turnover improvement in the trades.

Overall economic growth has been stronger than experts predicted. The job situation has improved — not only as a result of seasonal, but also due to economic factors — and both consumers and investors have regained some optimism.

The improved economic situation in the most important industrial countries has also provided new growth impulses and is likely to lead to a further rise in the GNP.

This will probably further boost the artisan firms' turnover in the consumer and capital goods sectors, even without state promotion programmes.

But a broad self-sustained upturn will only be achieved if profits go up along with demand.

The development of labour costs and the government's employment policy will therefore be decisive in determining whether the upward trend will result in a lasting upturn.

Small and medium firms are particularly threatened by the various types of across-the-board cuts in working times.

The trades adamantly maintain that the introduction of a 35-hour work week would prevent an upturn, boost costs and prices, destroy jobs, endanger training places, promote moonlighting and prevent a decline in the jobless figure.

If a 35-hour week were to be introduced without pay cuts, costs would go up between 18 and 21 per cent, equalling the cost of extending paid annual vacations from 30 to 60 days.

Furthermore, the various types of work and skills needed in medium-sized firms could not be handled with fewer workers nor could these jobs easily be transferred to newly hired people.

Eighty-one point seven per cent of artisan firms employ nine or fewer people. They cannot simply spread the work or give it to new staff.

The demand for earlier retirement at reduced pay would also impose an intolerable burden on small and medium-sized companies even if the government were to bear some of the cost.

If an artisan firm were to pay a prematurely retired worker who had previously grossed DM 15.44 an hour at a reduced rate it would be saddled with a cost of DM 58,000 to DM 96,000 from the time the worker is 59 until he reaches regular retirement age at 63.

The cost would be considerably higher if the government subsidy fell away — which it would if the vacated post were not filled.

In individual cases, the financial burden could be considerably heavier, especially for companies with a high proportion of elderly staff.

What applies to the 35-hour week also applies to premature retirement: jobs and the companies themselves would be placed in jeopardy.

Small and medium-sized companies are particularly dependent on the skills and experience of their older staff members. And if these staff members are entrusted with the training of apprentices they become indispensable.

Another important factor is that early retirees would take to moonlighting and thus destroy jobs.

The chambers of trades therefore warn against any artificial reduction of working times. Across-the-board cuts would benefit neither the work force by creating new jobs nor the employers whose competitiveness would suffer.

More jobs cannot be created through less work. They can only be created by stepped up efforts and improved performance. The employers' sales and earnings figures must be right.

What is needed is boosted profits and investments along with more liquidity. What is also needed is to overcome the shortage of work and not to spread the shortage over more people.

The trades need growth, lower labour costs, more flexibility and more mobility on the part of the work force. Only then can unemployment be eliminated, social benefits financed and social peace ensured.

Artisan firms work in close personal contact with their customers, they are flexible and geared to customer needs. This is their strength and, provided they are not hamstrung, they could create even more jobs.

Paul Schnitker

(Handelsblatt, 29 February 1984)

Monthly unemployment shows slight unexpected drop



Unemployment dropped 2,700 to 2,536,600 in February despite pessimistic predictions in the New Year. By comparison, in February 1983 employment rose by almost 50,000.

There are now 10.2 per cent unemployed in the Federal Republic. Vacancies increased during February by 14 per cent to 80,000.

These figures were issued by the retiring head of the Federal Labour Office, Josef Stingl, at his last Press conference.

Stingl, who had gained the reputation of being something a Cassandra during the Schmidt-Genscher era in Bonn, is able to retire on a bright note.

In the past few months his search for a ray of light in an otherwise bleak picture by pointing to seasonal influences, earned him criticism — and not only from the opposition Social Democrats.

The economy is now in better shape than it was a year ago and there are more vacancies.

But no matter how one twists and turns it, there is not getting away from the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany has never had as many jobless as in January and February this year.

And the number of unregistered jobless is growing. They include housewives and a growing number of juveniles. Even Stingl is right in predicting a real improvement in March, unemployment is still intolerably high.

Even the usually optimistic Bonn government in its annual economic report speaks of an average of more than two million jobless this year despite the anticipated 2.5 per cent economic growth.

The coalition government still pins its hopes on the self-healing forces of a free economy. But even the government does not predict that its early retirement scheme — that would allow workers aged 59 or over to retire on a portion of their previous pay pending eligibility for social security pensions — will have any major effect on employment.



Josef Stingl . . . Cassandra bows out (Photo: Poly-Press)

It is therefore not surprising that some conservatives demand that the age limit be lowered to 58, which, they say, would have a positive effect on the job market. But it would strain the budget.

The government scheme has not stopped the trade unions — especially the metalworkers — from continuing their campaign to create jobs through the introduction of a 35-hour work week.

But this year's round of collective bargaining will at best achieve a partial cut in the work week, and the potential jobs this could create would largely be nullified by rationalisation measures.

Seen in this light, the looming protracted industrial action over this issue against the metal industry employers would have disastrous consequences without creating new jobs.

Peter Reinhardt

(Mannheimer Morgen, 3 March 1984)

Continued from page 1

man for man, tank for tank and nuclear device for nuclear device if the United States were to withdraw, Nato would not be the same even though its numerical combat capacity remained the same. It would have changed in character.

There would be a purely European power which would no longer be a counterpart to the Soviet Union's Eurasian superpower potential.

Egon Bahr evidently envisages making a political vision come true by the year 2000. It is that of a Europe midway between opposing superpowers.

This Europe would be free in the West from American influence and free in the East from Soviet influence.

Helmut Kohl aims to establish a politically viable entity in Western Europe, one which can act politically.

As a more influential partner of North America's under the joint umbrella of the alliance, his Europe would act more as a senior than a junior partner.

In the wake of ex-Chancellor Schmidt's latest article it is no longer clear whether he still belong to this category of German politician.

The tough supporter of Atlantic policies that he used to be is beginning to soften up under the influence of Social Democracy in the throes of change.

Many Social Democrats are also gradually coming to feel there is little or no difference between the political systems.

Given such far-reaching fundamental currents of opinion, reform proposals to realign Nato can hardly be underestimated in importance.

Herr Bahr is committed to accelerating the process. Herr Schmidt may not be, but he is no longer actively opposing it.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 9 March 1984)

■ FINANCE

Quiet of the stock market is rudely interrupted

The stockmarket in Germany is still an insignificant source of income for companies. Most companies tend to get their cash from banks.

Between 1976 and the end of 1982, only 11 new listings appeared on the stock market. Then last year there was suddenly a boom. Eleven new issues were made.

The trend seems likely to continue. Germany's most successful compter maker, Nixdorf, has announced that it is to sell a nominal 72 million deutschemarks worth of its shares to the public. That is 20 per cent.

Following the issue, Deutsche Bank will no longer be a shareholder. It now has 25 per cent. It is predicted that each 50-mark share will be issued for 350 marks.

Nixdorf almost took the plunge of going on to public listings once before, in 1978, but pulled back at the last minute.

That hesitation reflects the lingering caution that German businessmen have

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

about putting their firms in the public gaze and handing out what they own to total strangers.

Since that initial indecision, Nixdorf has reconsidered. Its decision to make an issue constitutes the most significant German stock market admission since 1976 when Standard Electric Lorenz AG, the Stuttgart ITT subsidiary, issued 14 per cent of its stock.

Instrumental in the rash of issues last year was an asset management group in Munich called PM Portfolio Management.

PM caused something of a stir in 1981 when it acted as issuing broker for the Munich company Knürr-Mechanik on behalf on the parent company, Elektronic AG

PM chief Berndt Ertl has gone in for helping new technology companies find finance on the sstock exchange. He has brought eight companies on to the capital markets, five of them involved in high-tech.

Ertl says they're queuing up to use PM as an issuing house.

But PM Portfolio Management's efforts should not disguise the fact that cash terms its influence has been only modest.

The nominal value of the stock issued has varied between 250,000 marks for that of data processing firm SM Software and five million marks for the building group, Treuwo.

The biggest issuing house is still Deutsche Bank, the leader in this field among the German commercial banks. It still handles most of the heavyweights that go public.

F. Wilhelm Christians, its board chairman, is one of the most committed supporters of the stockmarket system.

Among recent Deutsche Bank issues is building machine company Vögele.

Two others are Etienne Aigner and Hornschuh AG. The nominal value of the share issues was between two million and 15 million marks. Still modest amounts, but up a division from PM's companies.

A highlight of the new issues last year was Wella, the world-wide hair cosmetic company. Its stock was valued at 112 million marks. Of this, 27.1 million marks worth was placed on issue. Each 50-mark share went for 340 marks.

Wella has been a family company for more than 100 years. What made it easier for the family to go through with the issue was the existence of non-voting preference shares.

These mean that, although shareholders do not get a vote, they are guaranteed a minimum dividend and, in addition, a bonus if a dividend on fully participating shares are made.

At the time of issue, there was some critical estimates about its chances long term. Despite that it is the only one of the new listings which has come through the initial speculation boom with a rising trend for the long term.

At the beginning of this year, Deutsche Bank was the issuing house for Zanders, an old-established paper manufacturer in Bergisch-Gladbach.

It issued 50-mark shares to a value of 20 million marks. Each share was bought for 125 marks.

There will probably be even more share issues this year than last. Portfolio Management has a Cologne company, PC Computer AG, ready. Six million marks will probably be involved.

One that has already announced its intention is Karl Schmidt, which supplies motor manufacturers with such items as pistons, engine blocks and steering wheels.

Schmidt, part of the Metallgesellschaft engineering group, will become known as Kolbenschmidt AG. Forty per cent of its 50-mark shares with a nominal value of 30 million marks will be issued. It is reckoned that they will each bring in about 200 marks.

Other companies are waiting in the wings to raise cash on the stock markets: Müllers' Mühle Schneekoppe AG in Gelsenkirchen; Schweinfurter ball-bearing maker FAG Kugelfischer Georg Schäfer KGaA; and Brunswick packing company Schmalbach-Lubeca GmbH.

Beate Uhse's sex-shop chain is often mentioned. So is Sachs AG in Munich. Porsche motor manufacturer chief executive Peter W. Schutz says his firm might even take the plunge one day.

With the commission for an issuing house of up to nine per cent, it is no wonder that many are in the running to handle the business.

However, stock exchange activity should not be over-estimated. So far, nothing has emerged on a huge scale. The German stock market is under-developed when compared with other developed nations.

The relative amounts of cash involved can be seen if comparisons are made with other forms of money, savings for example.

There is about 100 billion marks worth of tradable shares on the German market. There is 500 billion marks in cash savings in the country.

The capital increase last year on the 450 companies listed on the stock exchange amounted to about 2.8 billion marks. The value of savings rose by about 800 billion marks.

Thes puts into perspective the amount paid out last year for the shares of the 11 newcomers to the stock exchange: 320 million marks.

Public share dealing in other countries is much more active. Last year, about 700 companies became listed for the first time in America and the amount involved was about 30 billion marks.

So it is little wonder that those German shares which did come on to the market were not only sold, but were oversubscribed.

But the trend cannot disguise the fact that dealing in shares is not popular in Germany. What writer Kurt Tucholsky said in 1931 still seems to apply:

"The stock exchange serves as a gambling club and restaurant for a collection of excited gentlemen. Without it, the new jokes would do the rounds much more slowly."

According to an Allensbach poll, 34 per cent of all West Germans regard the stock exchange with some suspicion. And 38 per cent of the under 30s agree.

Paul Dietz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 2 March 1984)

Fall of the dollar gives the mark a timely boost

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The dollar has fallen sharply since it peaked in the middle of January. It has lost about 10 per cent against the deutschemark for example, from about 2.8 to 2.5.

The mark has been the main beneficiary from the weakening dollar, but it has not appreciated against other currencies in proportion because of the strictures imposed by the European Currency System.

But on the international money markets, the tendency is for the mark to go up. This is difficult to explain.

Interest rates in America and elsewhere are as high as ever, though the American economy shows signs of recovery in spite of the massive budget deficit.

Political reasons cannot be put forward: the situation in the Middle East is as explosive as ever.

People in the markets do have one simple explanation: until a month ago, the mark was so low that there was only one directon: up.

For a long time, Germany has pursued a steady economic policy with the aim of reducing deficits and cutting taxes.

Foreign trade performance has been expressed in balance of payments excesses. This is all now being recognised by the international money markets.

But there still remains the question: why right now?

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland 29 February 1984)

■ BUSINESS

Ball-bearings for battle-axes: bartering catches on

Bartering is big business. Chinese water fleas change hands in return for German machinery. A miniature observatory from East Germany is exchanged for 10,000 Volkswagen Rabbit cars.

Soviet natural gas worth DM1.5bn is supplied to the West in lieu of payment for pipeline supplied by Mannesmann and Thyssen.

Rumanian tyres worth DM112m are exchanged for fertiliser from Thailand. Tobacco worth DM2.7m from the Dominican Republic is traded in exchange for German pharmaceuticals.

Merck, the Darmstadt drug firm, have traded medicine in return for jute. Krauss-Maffei, of Munich, have accepted wine in payment for tanks.

Business, and international business, it most certainly is. "There is nothing that isn't bartered," says Hamburg businessman Harald Justus.

He is foreign trade spokesman for the Federal Wholesale and Foreign Trades Association, Bonn. Import-export barter business is said by pundits to amount to roughly 30 per cent of world trade.

In 1979 it accounted for between 15 and 20 per cent of German exports, according to a survey by the Osteuropa-Institut, Munich, for the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

Herr Justus's association now estimates the proportion to be around 20 per cent.

But it is an option that is only taken up by Western companies when there is no other access to a market, and that has increasingly been the case since the Third World discovered it.

Barter trade with East Bloc countries that have traditionally done business in this way is marking time.

What does a well-known engineering firm do with a shipment of coconuts? *Not everyone has the opportunities that* companies such as Krauss-Maffei in Munich, Jahreszeiten-Verlag in Hamburg and McDonnell Douglas in the United States have.

Krauss-Maffei serve Greek wine in the works canteen, Jahreszeiten-Verlag run a company supermarket and McDonnell Douglas serve Rumanian canned pork in their canteen, or so the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports.

Leading companies such as Krauss-Maffei, Daimler-Benz, Siemens, Hoechst, Salzgitter and Thyssen have promptly set up special sales departments.

Gutehoffnungshütte have a separate trading company, Franz Kirchfeld KG in Düsseldorf, to handle this side of the business.

General Motors have been less lucky. No-one on the US auto giant's board of directors wanted to asssume responsibility for what was sure to be a tiresome division of the corporation's activities.

Trading companies have traditionally taken the job on, selling barter goods, often in three-or more-cornered transactions for a commission of one or two per cent.

Thyssen, for instance, have sold Rumanian structural steel to Egypt. *Brokers earn a good living from this kind of* work.

About 30 brokers and trading companies in the Federal Republic are estimated by experts to do nothing but business of this kind.

The Wholesale and Foreign Trades Association say about 150 to 200 firms deal with barter trade in one way or another.

One of them is Friedrich Justus & Co in Hamburg. Bafag, a Munich firm, have dealt with barter business for nearly 30 years.

Bafag's Claus-Peter Glied can tell a tale or two of difficulties in selling second-rate bartered goods.

He cites as a composite example a German manufacturer of machine tools who accepts a shipment of Bulgarian marble in lieu of payment.

The cost of marketing it is taken into account by charging the 12 per cent commission in the form of a surcharge on the price calculated for the machinery.

In this fictional instance the Bulgarians paid the extra. The GDR was stung a good deal more heavily by the terms it negotiated for a rolling mill in Ilsenburg.

It bought the mill from Vöest Alpine, the Austrian firm, for a price originally set at 5bn schillings, or DM700m.

Then the East Germans offered buy back terms, preferring to supply sheet metal and steel from the rolling mill rather than pay in foreign exchange. In terms of the value of goods supplied in return they had to pay 43 per cent more.

"If you haven't the ready cash to buy the goods," Herr Justus says, "you are first going to try and get rid of your own left-overs by negotiating barter terms."

If the merchandise you wanted to get rid of were any good it could be sold for cash with which to pay for the deal. There would be no need for barter terms, which shows how such deals distort the market.

If a product has to be artificially reduced in price to hold its own in the market, domestic competition is not going to be enthusiastic.

When the British computer manufacturer Control Data Corporation accepted Russian Christmas cards in lieu of payment, British greetings card manufacturers were up in arms.

Barter deals involving cut-price textiles for sale in the German market are also a problem, says Herr Justus, even though German textiles firms do it themselves.

The whole process is much simpler when, for instance, the Soviet Union ships arms worth DM27bn to Libya in return for Libyan oil, which is an extremely saleable commodity.

In return for a deal in which Russia was interested, the Soviet Union recently offered to build a turnkey production facility. The Western country concerned could decide for itself what the facility was to be designed to manufacture.

Only five per cent of barter deals planned ever come off, according to reports from London. Yet more and more countries are trying to insist on barter arrangements.

Merck have done barter business with China, Tanzania, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia, Schering with Czechoslovakia, Siemens with Indonesia and Uruguay.

Thyssen have bartered with Norway and Krauss-Maffei with Canada, Australia, Belgium, Denmark and Holland.

Western countries as a rule only insist on barter arrangements when they buy arms. Commerzbank reckons the arms

Continued on page 9

Germans urged to haggle over prices

Bargaining is good for you, state secretary Otto Schlecht of the Economic Affairs Ministry has told journalists *in Bonn.*

Germans ought to bargain more over the prices of goods they buy in the shops. At present they can't because trading regulations limit discount tradesmen can legally offer.

Dr Schlecht was defending the Cabinet decision to cut red tape and widen the leeway for private economic initiative.

The Ministry is to submit in time for the summer recess proposals to waive superfluous provisions on unfair competition and trade discounts.

He said he failed to understand how anyone could accuse the government of wanting to teach Germans how to go in for bazaar-style bargaining.

Bargaining over prices was perfectly normal for a mature consumer. The Discount Act dated back to 1933. Only Luxembourg in the EEC still banned discounts entirely.

If the Act were repealed the pressure on prices would heighten in bids to sell expensive goods such as cars and jewellery.

That would be to the consumer's advantage and it would be worth the trouble of bargaining over the price of an expensive necklace.

He admitted that misgivings about a repeal of the Act had been voiced both by businessmen and by consumer associations and the Justice Ministry.

The Act as in force permits only a cash rebate of three per cent.

Critics of the government's plans say no-one would know where they stood on prices if regulations were to be abolished.

The commission of inquiry chaired by Horst Waffenschmidt, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Interior Ministry, would be considering whether any changes ought to be made to shop opening hours.

Misgivings, he said, had also been voiced about proposals to scrap restrictions on summer and winter sales and special price events.

There had been claims that competition might grow less civilised and market concentration benefit larger companies.

But it must be borne in mind that the provisions of the Fair Trade Act were already disregarded in many cases.

With so many breaches going unpunished it was dealers who obeyed the law who were penalised by doing less business.

Besides, consumers today were better informed and more critical than they used to be. They were well able to judge for themselves whether a bargain offer was really a bargain.

Hans-Henning Zencke

(Rheinische Post, 2 March 1984)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Opinions split over worth of permanent manned station

When President Kennedy called on the American people 23 years ago to put man on the Moon by the end of the decade he met with an extraordinarily ready response.

Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin set foot on the Moon before his deadline.

The Apollo project, which fulfilled a dream for much of mankind, cost $45bn, raised entirely by the United States.

President Reagan, who at the end of January approved the development of a manned space platform for a mere $9bn, was harshly criticised for deciding in favour of this next major space project.

Criticism was based mainly on economic arguments. On the President's initiative Nasa's James Beggs has toured Europe to officially offer Esa, the European Space Agency, an opportunity to participate in the programme.

In Bonn he held talks with officials of the Research and Finance Ministries and the Foreign Office.

He has long been rated one of the keenest advocates of a manned space station, which is an idea opposed by other space specialists.

Its critics include Edwin Aldrin, who in 1969 was the second man to set foot on the Moon. Aldrin feels the development of a large-scale lunar base would be more promising.

It would, he argues, oblige the United States to develop a sensible transport system for high-altitude space flights.

But the Office of Management and Budget, which checks US government spending, says the cost of the space station is too high.

At the Pentagon, Defence Secretary Weinberger is not alone in opposing the project. The Air Force and Navy feel there is no real need for it just yet but are not opposing the trend.

In the years ahead they will be keen to maintain close ties with Nasa to rule out initial misdevelopment making later military use of the system more difficult. Nasa is keen too.

In Europe Mr Beggs will have encountered nothing but rapt attention and enthusiastic support for his project. Even before details have been discussed European officials have shown interest in taking part in the space platform project.

Yet they must surely have realised that Europe came off a poor second in the last major project jointly sponsored by Nasa and Esa.

European countries have invested roughly DM2bn in developing and constructing Spacelab for repeated use in missions on board the US space shuttle.

All Esa was offered in return was a single free flight.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber may be in favour of cooperation with the United States in a space platform project on which scientists disagree.

But Europe, he says, must be assured of access to the project in accordance with its contribution, and that is likely to prove difficult now the possibility of military use has been mooted.

Esa's Jan Pryke testified to the Senate science, technology and space research sub-committee at the end of February that Europe would be prepared to contribute up to $1bn toward the cost of the project.

Yet Esa too is not thinking in terms of an unconditional offer, and one of the

Esa's contribution, he said in Washington, must promote European technology. It must also consist of designing and constructing one or more key sections of the platform.

The Europeans must also gain access to the entire space platform and not just to the parts they had designed and built themselves.

In theory they might be enabled to build some such key unit entirely on their own as at the present stage of planning the modular principle is envisaged.

The US space platform would consist of a number of modules that would only form a viable whole in combination.

Cooperation with the Americans would stand to benefit from Nasa appointing itself as the general contractor, as currently planned, and not one of the major US corporations.

By the terms of the current plans, which provide for construction of the platform by 1993, four cylindrical modules 14ft in diameter and 22ft long would be the nucleus of the facility.

Two of the modules would be laboratories (one for experiments in biology), one would be used as living quarters and the fourth as a logistical unit, including storage of the crew's food supplies.

The modules are to be put into orbit at an altitude of roughly 320km (200 miles) and an angle of 28° to the equator.

The link between modules will be via an independent pressure chamber at the hub of the platform, as it were.

A further feature of the system will an open repair dock, i. e. under pressure, where satellites can be penned for maintenance work.

This facility resembles the space shuttle's loading bay but will as now planned be much longer.

It will be equipped with one or two robot handling devices similar to the ones already tested on board the space shuttle.

A separate unit is envisage for the platform's life-support systems and power supplies. Up to 75 kilowatts of electric power will be generated by a 2,000 square metre area of solar cells.

Nasa also has plans for an unmanned space taxi to collect satellites from up to 1,000 miles away. It would cost about $375m and form part of the shuttle programme.

The construction of a second unit would form part of the space platform project, but the budget appropriations as envisaged for fiscal 1985 do not yet include funds earmarked for the taxi.

Two free-flying platforms for scientific experiments and apparatus, such as cameras and astronomical measuring devices, are firmly planned.

One of the two platforms will be put into a orbit similar to the main unit's and regularly visited by astronauts. The other is to be put into orbit at an angle of 98° to the equator.

There would be no initial plans for astronauts to visit it, but there would at least be an incentive to build a second space station and put it into a polar orbit within reach of this platform.

Polar orbits are essential for all projects in which the entire planet must be overflown. They include civilian reconnaissance and most military uses.

So Nasa sees this second station as an incentive for the military to take a keener interest in the space project.

Only part of the earth Could be covered from the initial orbit, but that is not the only reason why the entire project is controversial among scientists.

They have strong misgivings whether materials tests will result in findings sufficiently rewarding to justify the station's construction.

Spacelab would be enough for most biological experiments, and it would make more sense to put Spacelab to better use than to spend money on building a space platform that would then not be available to run Spacelab.

Satellite maintenance and repair as envisaged would only be possible for low-flying devices, but most commercial satellites are in orbit at altitudes of 36,000 km (22,500 miles) and way out of the space station's reach.

It would not be very large for a crew of six to eight astronauts spending three to six months in space. It would weigh 36 tons and have a habitable interior of 195 cubic metres.

Enlargement to at least 300 cubic metres would not be possible until after 1995.

Skylab in 1973 weighed over 80 tons and an interior of 360 cubic metres. Salyut 7 has an enclosed space of about 100 cubic metres.

But the Russians seem to be planning to build a modular space station in the next three years too. Parts have already been tested.

Assuming additions to Salyut 7 to consist of four 50-cubic-metre sections, the Soviet space station would by 1986 or 1987 comprise the 300 cubic metres a US counterpart could not hope to achieve before 1995.

This being so, the impression might be gained that President Reagan's go-ahead for the American space station for which Nasa's James Beggs has had to wait for so long was only half-hearted.

But when the President was drawing up the speech he made on 25 January he planned to say: "This evening I am instructing Nasa to develop a permanent space station, and to do so within a decade."

He was persuaded by Nasa at the last minute to change the wording to "a permanent manned space station." That was to make it clear to all that the President backed the project with all the means at his command.

Günter Paul

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 March 1984)

Continued from page 8

trade is connected with 60 per cent of barter business.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the Munich aerospace firm, are due to receive a basket of Greek produce in return for several Tornado combat aircraft worth DM6bn.

In 1982 MBB did five per cent of their turnover, or DM284m, by barter. At Krauss-Maffei barter increased from 50 to 80 per cent of turnover between 1973 and 1983, totalling DM2.5bn by mid-1983.

It has definitely been on the increase at Thyssen too, whereas at Merck barter as a percentage of turnover went up from 0.5 to 2, or DM25m, between 1973 and 1983.

At Schering it amounted to a mere 0.2 per cent of 1983 turnover, or DM6m.

Barter is no longer as straightforward as it was in the black market days after the war, with five cigarettes being offered in exchange for a bar of chocolate.

Nowadays, says Herr Glied, contracts are usually negotiated in series.

Say a German firm wants to sell lorries to Rumania. The deal goes ahead and the German firm is paid in cash, but agrees in return to buy a consignment of Rumanian machinery of equal value within a year.

The Rumanian machinery is paid for in cash too.

But, much to the relief of Western companies, these compensation terms do not always amount to 100 per cent of the value of a contract.

Poland, Rumania, the GDR, Malaysia, Indonesia and Uruguay may insist on 100 per cent, but Bulgaria makes do with between 30 and 50 per cent.

Czechoslovakia and Hungary are satisfied with 30 per cent on average and the Soviet Union mostly makes do with between 5 and 10 per cent.

Herr Justus works on the assumption that the percentage will normally be between five and thirty.

If the goods offered by way of barter happen to sell like hot cakes the percentage has been known to reach 200, but that is the exception, not the rule.

At times the barter goods can prove unsaleable. A London broker says Citibank and Manufacturers Hanover Trust were once saddled with 30,000 cubic metres of plywood they couldn't sell for love or money.

Marlene Roeder/dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 23 February 1984)

Euro rocket puts up telecom satellite

Intelsat V, a DM140m satellite that will relay up to 12,000 phone calls at a time between Europe and the United States, is now in orbit.

It was launched by the European rocket Ariane from Kourou in French Guiana. Ariane's eighth launch went like clockwork.

Esa, the European Space Agency, hopes to do good business in the satellite market.

In the decade ahead Western countries plan to launch about 200 satellites for telecom, meteorological and other non-military uses.

About a third of them will, it is hoped, be sent up by the European launcher rocket.

If they are, Europe will owe the Americans a debt of gratitude. Until a few years ago the United States enjoyed a rocket monopoly.

In the long run it felt that was too expensive and decided to concentrate on developing the reusable space shuttle. America ended production of the rocket that put nearly all Western comsats into orbit.

The space shuttle has not been entirely successful. On its last mission two satellites were lost.

That hardly proves which mode of transport is more suitable. Four satellites have been lost in two aborted Ariane launches.

Even if Esa hopes are fulfilled it remains to be seen whether Ariane will ever earn money rather than just spend the taxpayers' cash.

But the chances of Europe being able to compete in space technology have taken a definite turn for the better.

Michael Hamerla

(Rheinische Post, 6 March 1984)

■ PHILOSOPHY

Late sociologist in step with post-war ambience

Helmut Schelsky ... a thinker, a generous man (Photo: dpa)

Sociologist Helmut Schelsky, who has died aged 71 in Münster, was a scholar. He was also a university don and a public figure who accompanied the early progress of the Federal Republic.

He did so with a distinctive note of irony and determination, influencing it at many points and certainly welcoming it and interpreting it for many.

Then, in the 1960s, irony and determination were joined by an admixture of bitterness. Schelsky began to view his environment and his walk of life, both as a sociologist and an intellectual, in a more pallid hue.

Reality could be said to have followed in his footsteps, arguably as a turning point. As a public figure Professor Schelsky hailed the change, but in his final years he was far from jubilant.

The literary historian and critic Hans Maier has quoted him as saying in a letter that: "What comes hereafter is the acceptance of old age, in other words reflection and in many cases silence."

The intellectual study of time in Helmut Schelsky's work remains an important part of post-war German history.

He was born in 1912 and grew up in an age of commitment. His academic environment under Hans Freyer in Leipzig, influenced no doubt in part by Gehlen, will have facilitated his early enthusiasm.

He accepted the offer of an academic appointment at Strasbourg University in 1943, which was later held against him.

The least one must say is that his political commitment was always held in check by temperament and erudition.

He showed an early interest in social philosophy, in Fichte and in Hobbes. After the war he underwent a personally fruitful interim period before returning to academic work.

In 1948 he was appointed professor of sociology at what is now the Hamburg School of Economics and Political Science.

He was 36 and an empirical sociologist with a marked sense of the spirit of the age.

His books marked the progress of the era, including titles such as his 1953 *Wandlungen der deutschen Familie* (Changes in the German Family).

In it he argued that there were not just symptoms of disintegration but also of a new solidarity in view of the threats posed by the post-war period.

As long ago as in 1952 he published his *Arbeitslosigkeit und Berufsnot der Jugend* (Unemployment and Career Difficulties for the Young), which has a distinctly topical ring.

But he also had important social issues to sette, publishing his *Soziologie der Sexualität* in 1955, arguing that we cannot simply retain traditional behaviour patterns yet must not succumb to the pathos of emancipation either.

Die sozialen Folgen der Automatisierung (The Social Consequences of Automation) followed in 1957. In it he noted that the technical groundwork of human life was changing before our very eyes, with repercussions for both work and leisure.

In *Schule und Erziehung* (School and Education), 1957, he argued that educational institutions were becoming instruments of social control.

In *Die skeptische Generation* (The Sceptical Generation), 1958, he saw a younger generation emerging that followed the course of events with a watchful, questioning mind.

It was very much a 1950s book, testifying to cautious optimism, the desire for facts that held forth the promise of a better future, the desire for understanding. Yet Schelsky always bore in mind what contribution the scholar and intellectual, especially the sociologist, had to make. He was most encouraged when spokesmen for all parties in the Bonn Bundestag quoted him on family affairs. The intellectual as he saw him was nonpartisan.

Sociology too he portrayed in important and influential works such as *Ortsbestimmung der deutschen Soziologie* (Orientation of German Sociology, 1959) as being a study of the present, not a study in opposition.

By then he had moved from Hamburg, where he worked for many years and where his students did well, to Münster.

He spent a short and doubtless disappointing period at the new university in Bielefeld before returning to Münster and the chair of legal sociology.

He began to write a new series of books that were polemical to the point of hatred, arguably even self-hatred.

One day we may come to understand what went on in the 1960s in the minds of sensitive, significant intellects. It was certainly a curious schism.

Some suddenly felt all "emancipatory" trends were wrong from the start. Others, who didn't include Schelsky, remained seekers.

Many publications appeared during his second wave of emotion, the most important of which are arguably less his antisociology and his personal writings.

His most significant work in this period, published in 1975, was his *Die Arbeit tun die andern. Klassenkampf und Priesterherrschaft der Intellektuellen* (Others Do the Work. Class Struggle and Priestly Rule by Intellectuals).

When it appeared Helmut Schmidt had been Chancellor for just a year. The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn was to win both the 1976 and 1980 general elections.

Trends may have marked time but there was no express change of direction as yet. Even so, people sensed there was something new in the air.

Schelsky partly fulminated for and against topical issues such as new universities, new mathematics, abortion law reform, the lost family, industrial de-mocracy, hostility toward achieveme[nt], Karl Marx and Willy Brandt.

All these he opposed, whereas he fa-voured the three-stream school syste[m], the extra PhD thesis German univer[sity] lecturers have to submit, religion and, [to] some extent, Helmut Schmidt.

This dealt in fact with one of the s[...] ler topics of Schelsky the scholar, that [of] institutions and their importance.

It cannot be discussed at length he[re] but is definitely an extremely Germ[an] issue. How are the right subjects to b[e] institutionalised?

In part, one must in the final analy[sis] admit, Schelsky was by this stage out [of] step with himself and the world.

He felt the intelligentsia in politi[cal] parties and organisations, broadcast[ing] corporations and universities, peop[le] who had come to terms with the est[ab]lishment, were the worst possible rule[rs].

He may accordingly have overestima[t]ed their importance.

Time will tell whether time catches [up] with him. Everyone now realises [how] void such concepts as change and [tur]ning point are.

Yet Schelsky was still one of the [thin]kers who paved the way for the cour[se] of events.

He was a noble man. He may [not] have loved his enemies but througho[ut] his life he treated them fairly. He sup-ported many whose views he didn't sha-re, showing himself to be a generous person.

He may simply have enjoyed the va-riety of a reality he was always in sear[ch] of. *Auf der Suche nach Wirklichkeit* (In Search of Reality) was the title of a [...] book of his.

Yet he always kept his distance fr[om] reality. He was a leading public figu[re]. The Federal Republic will miss him. [He] will not be easy to replace.

Ralf Dahrendorf

(Die Zeit, 2 March 1984)

The man who fleshed out futurology

Unveiling the future is an old dream of mankind. In the Ancient World oracles and prophets sought to foretell it. In the Middle Ages their place was taken by the astrologers.

They were followed by the utopians of the early modern era in whose plans the element of reason first came to the fore.

Then, logically, enough, came the philosophers, especially those termed oracular by Sir Karl Popper: men such as Hegel, Marx and their intellectual scions. We thus seem to have come full circle. From the Delphic oracle to her modern counterpart it is but a step.

Ossip K. Flechtheim invented futurology over 40 years ago. He not only coined the term but fleshed it out in scientific and human terms.

He was able to cite an impressive family tree dating back to Marx, the Young Hegelians, the 18th century Enlightenment and the systems of natural law.

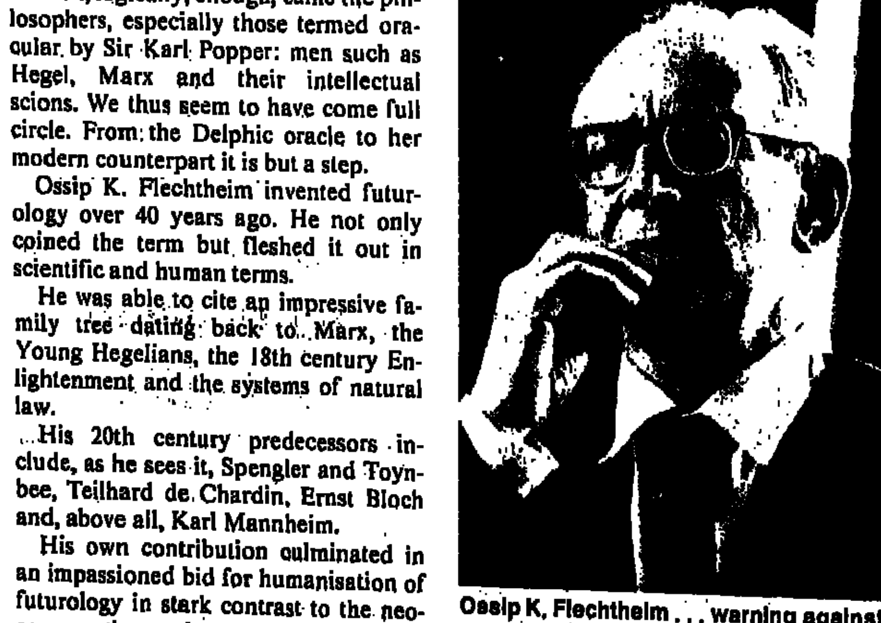
His 20th century predecessors include, as he sees it, Spengler and Toynbee, Teilhard de Chardin, Ernst Bloch and, above all, Karl Mannheim.

His own contribution culminated in an impassioned bid for humanisation of futurology in stark contrast to the neo-conservative, technocratic outlook.

Flechtheim sees as the aim of futurology the elimination of war and institutionalisation of peace, the ending of famine and hardship in the world and the democratisation of state and society.

In short, he envisages a bid to set up a new and, in the truest sense of the term, "human" being.

Russian-born Professor Flechtheim was 75 earlier this month. His academic



Ossip K. Flechtheim ... warning against dogmas. (Photo: Brigitte Friedrich)

significance extends further than his role in siring futurology.

He trained as a lawyer, took a PhD in law in 1931 and went into practice. He was promptly fired by the Nazis but stayed in Germany until 1935 despite being temporarily kept in custody.

He then had to emigrate, first to Switzerland, then to the United States.

He joined the KPD, or German Communist Party, as an 18-year-old [in] 1927. As a committed Marxist he sp[ent] about three month in the Soviet Union [in] 1931 and returned less than enthusia[stic].

He took a less sanguine view of so[cia]lism as it was actually practised and [the] fundamental ideas held in the [...] about Marx, Engels, Lenin and others.

He soon felt key Marxist viewpo[ints] were outmoded and devised a co[...] concept of the future as unpredic[table] and open-ended.

It was a viewpoint he was to reta[in for] decades, even in the 1960s, the de[cade] of student unrest, when he held the [chair] of political science at the Free Univer[si]ty in West Berlin.

He maintained his critical position [wi]thout failing to appreciate the views [of] rebellious students. In the late 1960s [he] was one of the chief intermediaries bet-ween the Extra-Parlamentary Opposi-tion and the university.

Last year, which was Marx's de[ath] centenary, he published a Hoffma[nn] und Campe paperback entitled *Ma[rx] heute* (Marx Today) that was one of [the] best books on Marx to appear in 1983.

It contains essays by writes such [as] Helmut Gollwitzer, Richard Löwen[thal] and others and a major introduction [by] himself.

In it Flechtheim renews his warn[ing] against dogmas, which are a risk he [has] manfully opposed at all stages of his ca-reer.

Both political science and Germ[an] democracy as a whole owe a great [deal] to him.

Sepp Schel[...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 4 March 1984)

■ THE ARTS

Subtleties of abottos, modellos, schizzos and bozzettos

Just after the war the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Brunswick lent its Rembrandt to the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum for an exhibition in bomb-scarred Rotterdam.

It is a Brunswick family portrait, introvertedly discreet yet generous in its painterly dimensions, an incunabula of Rembrandt's almost informal late phase.

The two museums have since been on good terms, maintaining productive ties and a brisk exchange on a baroque, bilateral basis.

A jointly planned panorama entitled *Malerei aus erster Hand* (Painting At First Hand) testifies to this cordial and, in terms of art history, illuminating inter-relationship.

Faced with a choice between leaving the sketches for the ceiling frescoes in the Jesuit church in Antwerp to the patron or painting an extra altar painting instead, Rubens in 1620 decided in favour of the latter.

Goya's 'The Injured Stonemason'

He was not the only artist who already realised that his own spontaneous style might be worth more than a gigantic tableau largely painted by journeymen and pupils.

Sebastiano Ricci, the precursor of rococo in his native Venice and in France, a painter whose style was very popular at European courts, went one step further a century later in his appreciation of sketches in oils.

He regarded the small preparatory painting as the original and the subsequent altar painting as the copy, as he noted in a 1731 letter to his patron, Count Taddis.

Models and sketches had grown so popular that in many workshops copies of the sketches were made to cater for growing demand on the part of collectors.

It is hard to distinguish now which sketches were made as preliminaries and which were painted after the event, as it were.

The distinction is outlined revealingly and with the greatest precision in the bilingual catalogue by Jeroen Giltay, the Dutch royal curator of old art.

He is the organiser of an exhibition rich in works loaned. He distinguishes between the subtly gradations of preliminary drawings, drawings, sketches and the like.

In Italian it is a distinction between abbotto, disegno, macchia, modello, modelletto, schizzo and bozzetto.

The distinction is made more difficult by the fact that some of these fine-sounding terms refer to the manner of execution, others to the function in a graduated process of conception and execution.

The exhibition begins with a large-format Tintoretto in connection with the even larger wall painting in the Doges' Palace entitled Doge Alvise Mocenigo Meets the Saviour.

It is a Cinemascope-style canvas that is only recognisable as a sketch by virtue of linear indication of St Mark in the background, overpainted several times, and the outlines of a lion in the foreground.

Paolo Veronese shared with Tintoretto the distinction of redecorating the Doges' Palace, which was gutted by fire in 1574 and 1577.

His decidedly landscape vision of a paradise floating on clouds and housing hundreds of saints is also on show in Brunswick.

Glowing in shades of grey and red, it was done between 1579 and 1582 and was a preliminary sketch known among specialists as a chiaroscuro sketch. It differs starkly in colour from Veronese's other designs.

The exhibition has already been seen in Rotterdam. The idea resulted from the 20 oil sketches by Rubens owned by the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum.

They include almost the entire Achilles cycle, which is now on show in Brunswick. It is a set of eight wood panels (one of which is in the Detroit Institute of Arts) painted between 1630 and 1632.

They were designed as a series of patterns for a set of tapestries woven several times in the mid-16th century. Sad to say, the corresponding life-size sketches on cardboard, about nine times larger than the oils, were lost about 20 years later. The tapestries, it is imagined, will have been designed for Daniel Fourment, Rubens' father-in-law. In Brunswick the development and breakdown of the topic can be traced in nearly a dozen chapters: from 16th century Venetian painting to southern and northern Dutch painters in the 17th century. Attention is then switched to Genoese and Roman masters of the period, and to the situation in Naples, Venice and northern Italy a century later. We are then taken to French and Austrian painting in the 17th and 18th centuries and to 18th century German and Spanish painters. Goya's dramatically flickering nocturnal scene of Christ being taken prisoner with its emphatic strokes of the brush impressively marks the end of the exhibition. It is a pointer to the beginning of an entirely different, epoch-making arc of development. For contemporary eyes and pundits sketches, whatever their origin and purpose, are often more interesting, more revealing and more exciting than opulent canvases.



Rubens' 'Two Roman Generals' (circa 1630-34)

This is particularly so in respect of baroque painters, who revelled in large formats and for whom representational requests and architecturally-orientated, decorative effects often override and falsify the immediate artistic impetus.

It is hardly surprising that Rembrandt, who was motivated more by internal considerations than by commissions, is poorly represented in terms of quantity.

He painted very few oil sketches for applied or publicly commissioned works of art.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries sketches were more than a personal workshop notice, an artistic decision or clarification of the subject matter laid down by ecclesiastical or princely patrons.

They were also a document and the basis of something as prosaic as the terms of contract.

At first glance, on an initial walk round the exhibition, the impression is thus not necessarily one of sketches.

Visitors used to Delacroix, Manet and Cézanne, Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec, and maybe Beuys and Twombly will be ready for much that seems totally spontaneous and unprepared.

Concepts and expectations change, however, as does the definition of a sketch. Many of the paintings on show are extremely accurate and perfect in execution.

They are virtuoso chamber music, cabinet instances of the refined art of the non-finito, monumentality in miniature format.

They are sometimes in circular or oval frames that emphasise the movement and rhythm of the heaven-storming, choreographically inspired protagonists and the spatial dynamism.

The light, airy paintings produced by Tiepolo, Johann Zick, Matthäus Günther, Franz Anton Maulpertsch, Giovanni Battista Pittoni, Jacob de Wit, Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Bernardo Strozzi, Carlo Carlone and Francesco Solimena boast bold dramatic effects typical of the era.

Body lines are curvaceous, stimulated and free from the force of gravity. At times they are arranged in almost abstract arabesque fashion.

There are striking spatial arrays, breakthroughs and see-throughs. There is the preference for diagonal arrangements and views from below that make you feel giddy.

There are exaggerated light projections and abrupt switches from light to dark. It is all on show in Brunswick.

Peter Winter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 March 1984)



Tintoretto's Doge Alvise 'Mocenigo Meets the Saviour' (circa 1576-77)

(Photos: Catalogue)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Japanese develop extensive system of sophisticated pollution controls

Japan has introduced the most advanced techniques of decontaminating fuels, exhausts and smokestacks.

It now has the strictest environment protection regulations in the world, and they are enforced by a close-meshed network of sensors and data control centres.

Yet the land of the Minamata disease *(mercury poisoning) and the Itai Itai* epidemic (cadmium poisoning), not to mention Yokkaichi asthma, has over 85,000 recognised victims of environmental pollution.

Their number is increasing by up to six per cent a year. Atsushi Yoskikawa of the Environmental Protection Agency has this to say in explanation of the apparent contradiction.

"If we hadn't done what we have accomplished so far to keep the environment clean, the number of victims would be much higher."

Japan began to act on pollution in the early 1970s when the EPA was set up and headed by a Cabinet-rank Minister, the former Prime Minister Takeo Miki.

His liberal influence has given the agency a sense of self-confidence that enables it to this day to outwit the industrial lobby and its old boy network.

It still succeeds in doing so even though, as one is bound to admit, it has suffered a succession of defeats lately.

The successful track record of the Japanese EPA prompted Berlin environmental research scientist Helmut Weidner to make a detailed investigation.

Wrong angle

In his report he is critical of what is often decidedly negative coverage of Japanese environmental policy by the German media, especially when what the Japanese have accomplished is compared with the altogether much less satisfactory state of affairs in the Federal Republic.

He refers, for instance, to the fact that Japan has solved the problem of sulphur in the atmosphere (which is still debated in Germany as the major cause of pollution).

The Japanese have strictly introduced desulphuration equipment for heating oil and smokestacks and that, he says, has done the trick.

It is doubly surprising to see desulphuration being dealt with so hesitantly in the Federal Republic when one bears in mind that he Japanese technique is based on a German patent.

Japan still faces a major problem in connection with nitrous oxides due to no small extent to vehicle exhausts, but it at least has a nitrous oxide rating, whereas the Federal Republic does not even have a prescribed danger level.

Dealing with the Japanese nitrous oxide ratings, Mr Yoshikawa says they represent a special problem in monitoring toxin emission of all kinds.

Factory smokestacks are no longer the chief culprit. Motor traffic is mainly to blame. Ten years ago the ratio was reversed.

"In atmospheric pollution," he says, "we have practically brought industrial offenders under control. But the number of vehicles on the road has doubled in the same period, now totalling 43 million."

They all have to comply with the strictest pollution control regulations in the world.

Since 1973 the carbon monoxide, hydrocarbon and nitrous oxide counts in the exhaust fumes of Japanese family saloon cars have been halved and reduced by a seventh and a third respectively.

The Japanese also lead the world with their sophisticated system of controls. There are over 1,600 measuring stations and an even larger number of automatic devices that monitor pollution at the point of industrial emission.

Data for all manner of toxins in the air, the soil and water are relayed daily to over two dozen data centres.

In Germany there is no such thing as daily measurements, and readings are mainly taken of sulphur counts, but the practice is far from widespread.

In Japan the authorities are busy setting up a monitoring network for clean-air areas for purposes of comparison.

Arguably the most important achievement the Japanese have made, however, is their unrivalled system of compensation for victims of environmental pollution.

For 10 years patients suffering from certain environmental complaints ranging from bronchitis to heavy metal poisoning have been reimbursed from a fund underwritten by government and industry.

The financial assistance lent extends from reimbursement of medical expenses to index-linked pensions.

Against the background of these Japanese efforts to improve the quality of life Weidner's words of praise for environmental protection in Japan have been read with close attention by government officials in Bonn.

Last autumn a German delegation made a fact-finding tour of Japan. But by the standards they have set themselves the Japanese are way behind target.

Legislation to require those who commission new industrial installations to provide strict environmental protection guarantees has been stymied in Parliament for the third time.

New environmental problems that are not covered by existing legal provisions have mounted up recently.

The number of battery-run devices in the home has greatly increased of late, resulting in an enormous number of spent batteries finding their way into garbage incinerators.

During incineration they emit a dangerously high level of sulphur gases.

Joint incineration of synthetic and natural waste at garbage disposal facilities has been found to generate dioxin as a by-product.

Nitrogen output by specific models of motor-car is way above the prescribed levels when measured at high rev counts.

Many measuring devices just don't work properly. How else could they register harmless levels in water where fish are found dead?

These are only a handful of the points of conflict which show that environmental protection in Japan is not all it has been made out to be.

It may have undisputable accomplishments to its credit but, on closer scrutiny, they show that all is not gold which glitters.

Peter Crome

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 February 1984)

Biogas from waste gets the tomatoes quickly to market

Recycling energy from garbage is no longer a pipedream. Gas was tapped from inside a garbage dump near Husum on the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein back in 1981.

Ahrenshöft gasfield, as it was dubbed, *may not have been registered by the* mining authorities but it did have the advantage of being a pioneering venture by the fuel and power industry.

It was the first time biogas was put to commercial use in Germany.

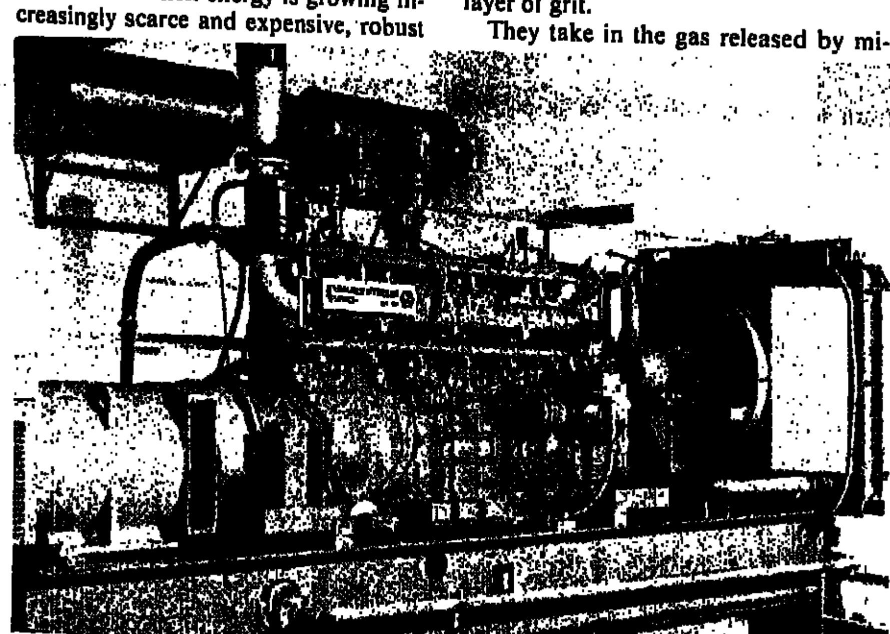
For over six months electric power and heat have been generated from a garbage dump in Furth am Walde, near Regensburg, Bavaria.

The electricity is sold to the local electric power company; the heat is harnessed to heat four greenhouses where biological vegetables are grown ahead of season under glass.

Early cucumbers, lettuce and radishes can be marketed sooner than crops grown by competitors, which is a advantage as they fetch better prices.

The heating system is powered by a 147-kilowatt, or 200hp, has engine fuelled by methane from the garbage dump.

At a time when energy is growing increasingly scarce and expensive, robust gas motors have opened up new fields of activity.



Gas from refuse in the Bavarian town of Furth am Walde drives this 200hp engine which, in turn, operates a heating system.

(Photo: Jenbacher AG)

Electric power and heating are generated from sewage sludge as it decomposes. Liquid gas is recycled and so, now, is the dreaded firedamp, or methane from down the mines.

Firedamp even fires the cylinder heads of gas engines and is put to productive use, and that is a technological world premiere.

An instance of such forms of renewable energy maybe cited from the garbage dump in Furth.

The dump is pierced and probed by lancets. They are plastic tubes pitted with minute holes and clad in a thin layer of grit.

They take in the gas released by minute organisms and conduit them to the gas engine. This primary energy generated free of charge is converted on the spot, with an attached generator generating electric power.

Process heat is ideally reused, since the waste gas, coolant and lubricants all make their contribution towards a positive balance.

The gas engine used has to withstand heavy-duty treatment. The methane count of the gas fluctuates between ... and 60 per cent.

The carbon dioxide count varies from 10 to 40 per cent and the nitrogen count from between 1 and 60 per cent.

Specially designed has engines are particularly well suited for the purpose. They can not only withstand such situations; they are also extremely long-lived.

The one at the waste dump often runs for months without interruption. It only has to be shut down for very short inspection and maintenance periods.

Gas engines have virtually no combustion left-overs. The methane uptake from the dump eases the burden on the tip, which can later be replanted with greenery without difficulty.

Previously the methane that escaped to the surface would have destroyed grass roots. Escaping gases penetrated the humus layer and reached the roots in the simplest manner imaginable.

As methane is energetically recycled, there are no further unpleasant smells to upset residents nearbly, and a conventional garbage dump is not a place to take the air.

We now know what it is that stinks so abominably. It is the minute quantities of sulphuric organic compounds known as mercaptans that are almost unbearable to smell even in such infinitesimal quantities.

(Die Welt, 3 March 1984)

■ EDUCATION

Universities seek to rediscover the sunny days of old academe

What has become of German universities? Wilhelm von Humboldt's concept of a unified field of instruction and research, of a fundamental philosophical education out of which came all other areas of study, led Germany to the top of the academic tree.

But today it is different. The Americans, the Japanese, the British and the French have taken over. There are two reasons why the Germans are not doing so well:

- First there is the pressure for specialisation in research. Many narrow, professional-based areas of academic and education courses have emerged. This has caused a shake out and left no place for the Humboldt ideal.
- Second, the political intention to make universities accessible for a much wider range of people has led to a change in its social role. The French are on the point of making a similar error.

Many professors are not happy about the change in their role. The standing of academic graduates has dropped.

The labour market and problems of orientation have manoeuvred the universities into a position between two poles – between education and career training.

Reform of the university system seems urgently to be needed. New ideas have been suggested. All have detractors.

Private universities to promote a new elite are not a solution. Elite universities cannot just be set up like a row of tents on a piece of land.

In addition, top-level research depends very much on chance. That can happen at every university. Of that there is plenty of evidence.

Both inside and outside the universities it is agreed that the labour market cannot be relied upon to adjust itself.

Professor Theodor Berchem, Vice-Chancellor of Würzburg University and president of the standing conference of West German vice-chancellors, favours a system along the lines of one used in America.

He says university studies should be divided into two: basic studies and a more advanced, more academic course of study. An intermediate examination geared to career needs would be held at the end of the basic studies courses.

Professor Berchem's idea is that the 13th class at *Gymnasium* level (the last class) and the first two university years would form the general basic-studies band.

Only the top of the intermediate examination candidates, probably about a quarter of them, would go on to an academic university course of study.

His proposals appear to have many advantages:

- Most students would leave university much sooner and would begin a career much younger than otherwise.
- Only the more talented would continue on to academic studies. The number could be adjusted to suit capacity.
- University places could be maintained at a level sufficient to ensure that high standards were maintained within a reduced syllabus and to maintain research.

A critic of this idea is Professor Nikolaus Fiebiger, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. He is also acting head of the standing conference of Bavarian Vice-Chancellors.

He says that radical changes to the university system would only be possible over a long period.

In view of the large numbers waiting for university places, basic reforms to the university system would be hard to push through.

He thinks there would be problems in the introduction of the two-tier system. The *Abitur*, school leaving examination which qualifies pupils for university, is, says Fiebiger, the envy of the world.

If Berchem's two-tier systemn were introduced, the *Abitur* would be devalued. He said that a new, multi-sided studies plan would have to be drawn up and a new system of salaries would have to be introduced to create a new level of professor for the intermediate basic-studies level.

Professor Fiebiger sees another problem with no solution: what would the lower-tier graduates do for a job? It had been apparent for a long time that the economic system did not need such people.

For a long time, people from vocational schools had been in demand because of their specialist qualifications.

Alternative to the Berchem proposal has been put forward by Professor Wolfgang Wild, Vice-Chancellor of Munich Technical University.

In his view, the differences between university and vocational college should not be reduced but increased. Vocational colleges could impart training for a profession at limited cost and through shorter study periods if only because they could do without research laboratories.

On the other hand, universities should make no concessions as a result of the demands made by the numbers waiting for admittance.

Unsuitable candidates for academic studies should be redirected to the vocational colleges.

Nevertheless, within the university, a sense of academic competitiveness should prevail such as in America at Harvard or Stanford. Only in this way could graduates be trained for advanced research and the talented get the academic training they deserve.

Professor Wild himself sees two main difficulties in the systems:

- The present vocational colleges are neither capable, because of their range of studies and their capacities, of educating more students. An appropriate building programme is impossible because of lack of cash.
- The two-tier system involving mingling graduates of varying capabilities would be against the salary system and above all, against the rights as defined by Basic Law — at least in disciplines that have admission limitations — which dictates exhaustive and uniform uses of available capacities.

Professor Fiebinger would like to combine the advantages of both concepts. He believes a differientiated elite as universities to be a possibility.

The intermediate examination could in his view be valued as a suitability filter. For normal graduates, the coat could be cut differently.

A general reduction of study period (diploma and degree after eight semesters on average) would be desirable, he says.

Promotion and with that academic studies could qualitatively be assessed through the intermediate exam. The course of studies for the gifted could include greater specialisation.

According to Professor Fiebinger, this could be achieved without legal reforms. Only a few regulations concerning capacities would need to be altered.

Wolfgang Stöckel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 1 March 1984)

How foreign children fare at school

Foreign children do just as well at school as German children if they get off to a similar start.

A survey in Hamburg has found that foreign children, Turks, Yugoslavs, English or Portuguese — it didn't matter — who attended German schools from their first school year completed *Hauptschule* (secondary school leading probably to part-time vocational schooling) with almost as much success as German children (84 per cent compared with 88 per cent).

In Hamburg, about 28,000 foreign children (including 15,200 Turks) and almost 240,000 German children attend state schools.

Three years ago, only half the foreign children completed *Hauptschule*. Last year 64 per cent did. Included in that latter figure were many who came to Germany when they were older and had in addition to learn German.

Hamburg's School Senator, Joist Grolle, wants to further reduce the schooling differences between German and foreign children. The authorities are to spend an additional 16 million marks to create 400 more teaching jobs.

The situation is difficult in heavily settled parts of the city such as Altona, the central Hamburg suburbs and Wilhelmsburg. Here there are 30 schools with an average of 40 per cent foreign children, twice as much as the city average.

This high proportion only hinders the integration process.

In 1983, about 2,000 foreign children completed the fourth year in the *Grundschule* (primary school). Of these, 60 per cent opted to go on to the *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*, leading to vocational training. Barely 16 per cent decided to go to the *Gymnasium* (academic high school).

The figures for German children were, by comparison, 35 per cent and 40 per cent.

In the case of the *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive) there wasn't much dif-

Continued on page 14

■ MEDICINE

Infant mortality: sad truth about an affluent society

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Maternal and infant mortality in the Federal Republic of Germany, one of the most advanced industrialised countries in the world, are among the highest in the West.

For years the statistics were papered over by the official argument that international comparisons were misleading because figures were compiled differently.

The Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden now says this isn't true.

A further argument was that mothers-to-be had only themselves to blame for not attending medicals regularly. They couldn't be bothered taking advantage of the facilities provided.

The truth is that mothers-to-be in all industrialised countries behave in much the same way. They go out to work or have their work cut out looking after other children.

They miss medical appointments because they haven't the time and hope all will be well. But in other countries they are not made out to be solely to blame.

In the United States all pregnant women are phoned by their doctors to remind them of their next appointment. In other European countries midwives still keep an eye on them.

In Holland and Scandinavia district nurses visit women at home throughout their pregnancies, reminding them how important medical checks and ante- and post-natal care are.

Mothers can also consult the midwife once baby has arrived should problems arise.

In the Federal Republic the midwife, who used to be a backbone of every community, seems to have been displaced. Midwives now work mainly in hospital and seldom make house visits.

In cities the relatives or the lady next door is often no longer there to lend a hand. So young and inexperienced mothers are frequently left to their own devices when they leave the maternity clinic.

Motherhood is a mental strain for anyone, let alone the learner, and she is left holding the baby in these circumstances.

West German hospitals are better equipped than, say, Swedish maternity clinics. Yet infant mortality in Germany is twice as high as in Sweden.

Statistically there are 11.6 deaths per 1,000 births in the Federal Republic of Germany, as against 6.3 in Sweden.

The Federal Republic comes 13th in Europe, with a much higher infant mortality rate than the Scandinavian countries, than Holland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, France, Belgium, Britain, the GDR and even Spain.

Only Greece, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Portugal have a poorer record, and their level of development is lower in general.

"In this respect," says Berlin professor Peter Sartorik, "we are still what amounts to a developing country.

"Technology is not what counts when it comes to the level of infant mortality. It is the interest shown by the individual in life in the making."

High-risk births ought only to be handled by maternity wards specially equipped to cater for them in terms of both equipment and manpower.

Not infrequently the equipment is there but not the skilled personnel to use it, while in private clinics women may still give birth entirely without a doctor in attendance if baby starts coming at night or on a Sunday.

High-risk births are often not recognised as such until far too late. The Federal Medical Council recommends 10 medical checks, but they are clearly not enough.

Other doctors say checks should be made once a month until the mother-to-be is five months pregnant, then at fortnightly and weekly intervals.

She should be looked after daily by a midwife for 10 days before delivery and a fortnight after giving birth.

Potential dangers to life-to-be can be spotted even before pregnancy. Geneticists at a number of university hospitals can check patients for signs of hereditary diseases.

The problem here is that these advice centres are hopelessly overcrowded and overworked. Parents-to-be ought certainly to have their blood groups checked for compatibility.

German measles, normally a harmless virus complaint, is one of the most dangerous infectious diseases there is during pregnancy.

Pregnant women must have a blood check to see whether they have had German measles. If they have, they will have antibodies.

In the Federal Republic one baby in 500 is born with deformities due to its mother having had German measles during pregnancy.

In other countries this risk has been eliminated entirely.

Post-natal care is of vital importance with high-risk births who run a high risk of infant mortality. It is also important for peripheral social groups with high infant mortality.

A detrimental effect on the new-born baby's chances of survival is exercised by the fact that unmarried mothers are not fully accepted by society.

They often show signs of social stress. It is clearly attributable to this social condemnation and has a strong psychosomatic effect.

Other risk categories include babies born to mothers of several children and the first babies of women over 30.

The lowest mortality rate is for mothers aged 25 to 29. The highest infant mortality occurs when the mother is under 19 or over 40.

Others contributory factors include whether it is a wanted child, how much the family earns and the parents' level of education.

All told, then, infant mortality in the Federal Republic seems to be in part a social problem, and public interest is not high enough, not even that generated by the mother-and-child lobby.

Women who have attended all medicals are paid DM100 by the health insurance funds, but incentives such as these aim at the symptom, not at a cure.

What needs changing is the entire system of caring for young mothers. There must be more individual attention such as was provided by midwives in the past.

That could help to reduce maternal mortality, which is also higher in the Federal Republic than in other civilised countries.

In reply to a question tabled in the Bonn Bundestag a government spokesman had to admit that maternal mortality was higher only in Hungary, Portugal and Rumania.

The most frequent causes of death are, as in days gone by, childbed fever and toxicosis. But abortions and bleeding during pregnancy can also lead to death.

The risk is three times higher than for younger women when the mother-to-be is aged over 35.

Aktion Sorgenkind, a child care group, has launched a fresh bid to encourage precautions. It has published a brochure on pregnancy and the risks involved.

Two million copies of the brochure have been printed and it is available at doctors' surgeries, pharmacies and advice centres.

Pregnant women are to be encouraged to take the brochure home, to read it and to make sure they attend all 10 medicals during pregnancy.

This year the emphasis will be on helping women in risk categories such as foreign workers' wives and mothers from lower social groups.

Professor Günther Oehlert, president of the German Gynaecology and Obstetrics Association, is not looking anywhere other than among his own fraternity for mistakes and shortcomings.

He feels doctors could well do with more in-service training too.

Sigrid Latka-Jöhring

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 February 1984)

Continued from page 13

ference: 22 per cent of the foreign children and 20 per cent of the Germans.

Of the 5,700 foreign children who left school in 1983, only six per cent had passed their *Abitur*, which qualifies them for university.

Senator Grolle is proud that 60 per cent of foreigners managed to get training places last year, twice as many as in 1980.

Among school leavers without places (40 per cent compared with 5.6 per cent for Germans) the Turks comprised the greatest number, 80 per cent.

And among them, the girls have the least chance of getting a training. Often there is family resistance. Only 38 per cent of all Turkish girls who complete school go on to a career.

The figure is 68 per cent for foreign girls from countries other than Turkey.

Overall, boys have twice as good a chance of finding a job as girls.

Petra Gerster

(Die Zeit, 17 February 1984)



Doctors warned on dangers of childbirth anaesthetic

Gynaecologists and health authorities have warned against widespread use of a specific local anaesthetic technique during childbirth.

Known as a paracervical blockade, it involves injecting an anaesthetic such as Bupivacain on both sides of the cervix.

There may be serious side-effects, say the German Gynaecology and Obstetrics Association and the Federal Health Office, Berlin.

So the technique should only be used by experienced specialists in special cases and at hospitals where resuscitation can be undertaken without delay.

Following scientific findings abroad several incidents in connection with a paracervical blockade have been reported in the Federal Republic.

An anesthetic administered in this way can cause shock and interrupt the exchance of gas between mother and child. There may be a direct effect on the unborn child because the substance passes through the placenta.

An incalculably high blood level may result, probably blocking certain receptors of chemical substances in the body.

At all events the resulting state can threaten the mother's life and interrupt the supply of oxygen to the child, causing irreversible brain damage.

Given such alarming reports, the Federal Health Office called on the Gynaecology Association to appoint members of an ad hoc commission. Its recommendations have now been published. There is no painkilling aid to childbirth that is entirely free of risk to mother and child, the commission says.

But the paracervical blockade technique is particularly inadvisable, especially as it is hard to learn and involves risks even when correctly undertaken.

The risk can be kept within reasonable levels only in special clinics and

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under the supervision of specially trained obstetricians in suitable circumstances.

Doctors are called on to think carefully before deciding to use the technique and to weigh the risks in each case.

Patients must be explained the position extremely thoroughly and the technique only used in hospitals experienced in using it.

Other techniques should always be considered first. Technical and staff prerequisites must always be available to ensure intensive care of the mother and shock treatment before and after birth.

A resuscitation unit must always be on standby.

The commission says the technique will continue to decline in importance in obstetrics. In busy maternity wards it is already used only in exceptional cases.

Given the commission's recommendation and failing sufficient forethought it could well be rated a medical error.

The leading perinatal specialist in the Federal Republic, Professor Erich Saling of Berlin, says that if an anaesthetic is needed or requested, at his clinic peridural anaesthesia is practised.

It consists of an injection in the spine that is less dangerous and virtually rules out pain anywhere in the lower half of the body.

Only when this technique is impossible and a paracervical blockade can be used fairly harmlessly to prevent a caesarean section is the paracervical anaesthetic given.

Professor Saling says a specially low dose must be administered and the recommendation by the Federal Health Office and the Gynaecology Association strictly observed.

Justin Westhoff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 March 1984)

A selection of the booty of state. From left: etching of an Arab city; 3,500-year-old vase; silver tea service. (Photos: Michael Ebert)

■ MODERN LIVING

The unpublic subject of public gifts from visiting heads-of-state

What happens to presents from visiting heads of state? Romulus and Remus, for instance, and the she-wolf that suckled the legendary founders of Rome have twice been given to Bonn.

One of the pairs of brothers is on a sideboard in Konrad Adenauer's house in Rhöndorf just outside the city, with a wonderful view of the Drachenfels and the Rhine.

The other is in mothballs in the cellar of Villa Hammerschmidt, the official residence of the Bonn head of state.

Gifts are as much a part of state visits as police escorts and receptions. But what happens to them is often even stranger than the gifts themselves.

Bonn protocol officials are tight-lipped about them, which alone is enough to prompt curiosity. Presents for politicians, they firmly say, are not a subject for public discussion.

Asked who gives what, officials at the Foreign Office, the Villa Hammer-



schmidt and the Chancellor's Office feign surprise.

Out of consideration for the donors, is so the official explanation runs, gifts are not exhibited. A public showing might lead to diplomatic complications.

It is, of course, a two-way traffic, and someone might compare gifts and make inferences. How, for instance, do a pair of sea eagles for the President of the United States compare with a Mercedes for the Soviet leader?

The Foreign Office protocol department is quick to give an assurance that such tokens of esteem are not a continuation of politics by other means, to paraphrase Clausewitz.

Four times a year the Bonn President pays foreign countries a state visit. Detailed preparations are always made beforehand.

The embassy of the country to be visited is discreetly asked what item might be welcomed as a gift. Foreign Office departments are also consulted.

When President Carstens visited Nigeria he gave his host a water purification plant, whereas his gift to the Ivory Coast was video equipment for the National ...

He presented Emperor Hirohito of Japan with a 300-year-old book about ... Protocol officials had decided before the visit that the Emperor's interest in fish was a suitable subject for a gift.

But what has the Bonn head of state been given in return? What do visiting heads of state bring to Bonn and what happens to it?

Politicians accept gifts, be they art or kitsch, valuable or not, on behalf of the German people. We never get to see them.

The Foreign Office seems most at a loss for an answer. "There is no room here where they're kept," an official says, trying to sound a credible note.

Yet the Foreign Office compiles an annual list of gifts. Even so, no-one at the Foreign Office will admit to knowing what happens to them.

The reaction at the Chancellor's Office is much the same. Gifts from visiting heads of state? Why yes, they are made now and again. What happens to them? That is for the Chancellor to say.

All the visitor gets to see is a display of arts and crafts under glass in the entrance hall.

More persistent questions meet with an answer that is the epitome of discretion. There are topics, one is told, that are just not suitable for a public airing.

At the President's official residence the atmosphere is less hush-hush. Many gifts are on show in the entrance hall. When something new arrives they are rearranged.

They include a bronze eagle from the President of the United States, carpets, ash trays, chests, mocca, coffee and tea sets, china figurines, wood, bronze and earthenware sculptures, jewellery, arts and crafts and paintings.

The President's press officer says that only gifts that can be put on show are exhibited at the Villa Hammerschmidt. So where are the ones no-one is to see?

By way of an exception and with great misgivings the press officer agrees to take me down into the cellar. So the rumour is true and there is a room where the more ghastly gifts are kept under wraps!

The official is quick to add that storage of a gift in the cellar is not intended as a mark of disrespect. There is not enough room to put everything on display, so a choice must be made.

But, he adds, you can't very well exhibit drums or spears at the President's residence, can you? Many gifts are loaned to museums.

A much more level-headed view of the subject is taken at the Rhöndorf home of Konrad Adenauer. Gifts large and small to the first Bonn Chancellor are on exhibit.

A pair of temple lanterns from Kyoto are in Adenauer's rose garden. A 3,000-year-old amphora from Cyprus, a gift from Archbishop Makarios, is in the drawing room.

So is a solid silver tea service from the Commonwealth, a carpet from the Shah, vases from the Emperor of Japan and his wife and a silver hat from Mexico.

Anneliese Poppinga, formerly Adenauer's secretary and now manager of the Adenauer Foundation in Rhöndorf, gladly takes visitors round the house.

One impressive memento on show is a samurai's sword and hara-kiri kit. The items on exhibit also include gifts by other than statesmen.

There is a Russian icon given to him by a returned prisoner-of-war: a symbolic reminder of his 1955 visit to Moscow.

There is a cross consisting of nails from the ruins of Coventry Cathedral, which was destroyed in a German air raid in 1940.

Alongside the cross, on Adenauer's desk, there is a French wartime decoration a young French woman gave the Chancellor as a gesture of reconciliation on one of his visits to France.

Konrad Adenauer was very much a law unto himself when it came to state gifts. He invariably decided by himself which gifts were personal and which must be handed over to the government.

There are still no clear regulations governing this point. Protocol officials explain that the personal nature of the gift is what counts.

President Carstens has said that none of the gifts he intends to take with him when he retires as head of state will be of any great value.

So when his successor next visits Rome the statue of Romulus and Remus in the cellar of Villa Hammerschmidt may be joined by identical twins.

Herbert Spies

(Rheinische Post, 25 February 1984)

Pawnbrokers try and polish up the money-lender image

Pawnbrokers are doing brisk business even though they may no longer be keen on the name, with its connotations of usury.

But that has long been the case. In the 1920s the pawnbrokers' magazine had a doggerel motto to the effect that those who spurned the name were no longer worthy of it.

Yet many did, and none of the 90-odd private and seven local authority pawnbroking companies in the Federal Republic of Germany see themselves as mere pawnbrokers.

For years they have sought to build up a new image far removed from the unpleasant associations of the three brass balls.

For years the trade has been said to be on the way out, but in reality business has boomed, and pawnbrokers feel optimistic about 1984.

Twenty pawnbrokers are covered by the statistics available. Last year the number of items pawned was 1.1 per cent up, but the amount paid out was 5.8

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

per cent up, to DM66m.

Turnover for the entire trade is estimated to have totalled more than DM300m. An average DM252 is paid out on each article, so that means customers in plenty.

The 20 companies listed reported nearly 264,000 customers last year, and for 1984 the trade expects an increase of between five and eight per cent in turnover.

This increase will be due to the trend to pawn objects of greater value. Gone are the days when the Sunday best went into hock. Roughly half the items pawned are watches, clocks and jewellery.

Thirteen per cent are not reclaimed, and in relation to the money paid out 7.28 per cent was auctioned off. That too was in keeping with the trend.

Items on which, say, DM120 has been loaned tend to be unclaimed, whereas objects of greater value are usually retrieved.

The trade is worried only by black sheep who auction off new goods as unclaimed pawns.

A Frankfurt pawnbroker is accused by the trade association of using auctions to sell carpets that would otherwise have difficulty in finding a buyer.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 February 1984)